



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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Wednesday
4 September 1991



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Reportage on Nonaligned Meeting Held in Accra

Tight Security Measures Noted

AB3008122391 London BBC World Service
in English 1705 GMT 29 Aug 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The opposition in Ghana is going to have an even tougher time voicing its opinions in the next 10 days or so. The authorities have announced the tightening up of security in the country to coincide with the ministerial meeting of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM] due to open in Accra next Monday [2 September]. Apparently there are fears that some people might be planning to disrupt the conference. From Accra, Ajoa Yeboah-Afari faxed us this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Following a meeting of the National Security Council held yesterday a statement issued from the General Headquarters of the Ghana Armed Forces has announced the intensification of military patrols along Ghana's borders. The statement requested residents of border regions to cooperate and treat the patrols as a friendly exercise. The statement also announced that as part of the measures to ensure the safety and security of delegates attending the Nonaligned Movement conference next week, all outdoor activities within the Accra Metropolis and the adjoining Tema District have been prohibited until September the 9th.

The Nonaligned Movement conference ends on September the 7th, but political observers see links between these security measures and the fact that the main opposition group in Ghana, the Movement for Freedom and Justice, or MFJ, had scheduled a rally to be held in Accra's Bukom Square on Saturday, August the 31st. Some weeks ago, the police prevented an MFJ rally from taking place at the same venue.

The security measures have also been linked to reports in the government-owned GHANAIAN TIMES newspaper on August the 15th which claims that an opposition group, the Ghana Democratic Union, had threatened that there would be a bloodbath in Ghana if multiparty democracy is not established by the 31st of August 1991. The TIMES claimed the threat was issued at a press conference in the Nigerian capital, Lagos, by Dr. Aduko Kwafo who, the TIMES said, was the leader of the Ghana Democratic Union. The paper alleged that Dr. Kwafo described the union as the worldwide umbrella for various opposition organizations both within and outside Ghana.

But the chairman of the MFJ, Prof. Adu Boahene, who is also a convener of a recently formed coordinating body of Ghanaian opposition groups, was quoted in the PIONEER newspaper as saying: The TIMES report is a dangerous and malicious trick to frighten people and has the ultimate aim of causing the arrest of innocent people. [end recording]

Jakarta To Host 1992 NAM

BK0709105091 Jakarta ANTARA in English
0723 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Accra, Sept 2 (OANA-ANTARA)—The Non-Aligned ministerial meeting in Accra to be started on Monday will possibly appoint Indonesia to host the NAM [Nonaligned Movement] summit in 1992, sources of the meeting said here Sunday. ANTARA journalist Parni Hadi observed that most of the participants of the meeting prefer to appoint Indonesia the host of the summit but there are voices against the nomination especially from former Portuguese colonies.

The Director General for Political Affairs Wiryo and Indonesian ambassador to the UN Nana Sutresna were not ready to comment on the possible appointment of Indonesia to host the summit.

The ministerial meeting to take place from September 2 to 7 will consist of a senior officials meeting from September 2 to 3 and a foreign ministers meeting from September 4 to 7.

The Indonesian delegation to the senior officials meeting is headed by Director General for Political Affairs Wiryo while Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is expected to arrive here from Lagos, capital of Nigeria, on September 3.

Before the opening of the Accra ministerial meeting, a number of countries such as Egypt, India, and Zimbabwe, Bangladesh and Vietnam stated their support to Indonesia's appointment. Besides Indonesia, another country had proposed itself to host the summit, namely Nicaragua. But according to the latest report Nicaragua had withdrawn its bid.

The Non-Aligned ministerial meeting will also review the implementation of the Beograd NAM summit resolutions in September 1989.

NAM Conference Previewed

AB0209165591 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation
Radio Network in English 1400 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] The deputy secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Mohammed ibn Chambas, says the Accra ministerial conference of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM] is significant in that it is taking place in the aftermaths of the cold war era and the disappearance of bloc politics. Dr. Chambas said this at news briefing at the Accra International Conference Center this morning.

He said while the peace broker role of the movement appears to have been downgraded by developments, the evolution of a new world order brings to the fore the need for the movement to define its role in the new order and rearrange its priorities. Dr. Chambas said the conference will discuss the debt problems of Africa as well as other countries in Asia, the Middle East, and Latin America which are members of the movement.

According to the deputy secretary, the question of new members being admitted will also be discussed. SWAPO [South West Africa People's Organization] had an observer status in the movement, and now that Namibia is independent, that country will certainly apply for admission.

So far, all the 102 member countries of the movement have been formally invited to attend the 10th ministerial conference in Accra. Only Bahamas has indicated that she will not send a delegation. Delegations from more than 35 countries are being led by their foreign ministers.

Nonaligned Agenda Drawn

AB0409063091 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Senior officials among delegations to the ministerial conference of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM] were this afternoon putting finishing touches to the agenda for the conference. At their Technical Committee meeting, the senior officials were believed to have mapped out seven main issues that the conference will discuss. According to sources close to the Technical Committee, the issues that will be put on the agenda include the role of the NAM in world affairs today, conflict resolution, how to strengthen the United Nations, human rights, and the degradation of the ecosystem worldwide. Others are the debt problems of developing countries and the search for world peace.

The 10th ministerial conference will officially open tomorrow. During the day, heads of delegations found time to pay courtesy calls on the secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah. [passage omitted]

Delegations from Iran and The Gambia are among the latest arrivals for the official opening of the ministerial conference. The Iranian foreign minister, Dr. 'Ali Akbar Velayati, who is leading his country's delegation, spoke about the effects of the Gulf War on Third World countries, and the need for them to solve problems themselves. This was when he answered questions from newsmen.

[Begin Velayati recording] What happened during the crisis of the Persian Gulf has affected very badly the Third World countries. That was not to the benefit of the Third World countries because that brought some kind of division among the Third World countries. And as far as our foreign policy is concerned, always, we have been against the occupation of Kuwait by Iraq, and also the presence of foreign troops in the Persian Gulf. And what happened after the crisis, the aftermath of the crisis of the Persian Gulf was anticipated by us in our talks with friendly countries in the region and also in the Third World countries.

So, we think at least that was an important lesson that the Third World countries have got, that always they should be careful not to be divided, and if there is any

difficulty in our movement, before the intervention of others, we have to solve it ourselves. [end recording]

The Iranian foreign minister speaking to newsmen at the Kotoka International Airport. [passage omitted]

Speaking on arrival in Accra, the Libyan foreign minister, Mr. Ibrahim al-Bishari, called for a change of the present name of the movement to the movement of the Third World. He declared: We are not aligned, against whom and with whom, adding, the world has changed considerably. [sentence as heard] Therefore, the movement must respond to these changes.

The Algerian foreign minister, Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi, who is also in the country for the meeting, described as modest, the successes made by NAM with regard to South-South cooperation. He hoped this necessary cooperation would be effectively developed. The latest arrivals for the conference are the foreign ministers of Egypt, Kuwait, Mali, Liberia, and Sierra Leone.

Ghanaian, Iraqi Ministers Meet

AB0309174791 Accra Ghana Broadcasting Corporation Radio Network in English 1300 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpt] The foreign minister of Iraq, Mr. Ahmad Husayn Khudayyir, who is leading his country's delegation to the 10th ministerial conference of the Nonaligned Movement [NAM] in Accra, today called on the secretary for foreign affairs, Dr. Obed Asamoah. He spoke of the untold hardship that the Gulf War, which he described as an aggression on his country by some 30 countries, had brought on to his people. He said serious deprivation of food and drugs is the lot of his people now, even though they are in a rich country. He said the decision of the UN Security Council not to allow Iraq to export oil is greatly affecting his country. He said many people, including children, die daily for lack of drugs. Mr. Husayn said his delegation would submit a resolution on the Gulf at the conference. He disclosed that he has a special message from President Saddam Husayn for the chairman of the PNDC [Provisional National Defense Council], Flight Lieutenant Jerry Rawlings.

On his part, Dr. Obed Asamoah expressed Ghana's concern about the untold hardship as a result of the Gulf War. He hoped Iraq would continue to cooperate with the UN Security Council in finding solutions to the problems created. He was hopeful that together with other members at the NAM conference, measures would be found to prevent the recurrence of such incidents.

Earlier, the Zimbabwean foreign minister, Dr. Nathan Shamuyarira, attending the conferences, also called on Dr. Obed Asamoah. The two foreign ministers discussed the agenda for the NAM conference, Africa's candidature for the post of UN secretary general, and South-South cooperation. [passage omitted]

Syrian Foreign Minister Arrives

JN0409053091 Damascus Syrian Arab Republic
Radio Network in Arabic 0415 GMT 4 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar' has arrived in Accra to attend the 10th ministerial conference of the Nonaligned Movement, which is due to open today with a speech by the Ghanaian president. [passage omitted]

Iranian, Libyan Ministers Comment

LD0409100291 Tehran IRNA in English 0525 GMT
4 Sep 91

[Text] Accra, Sept 4, IRNA—The foreign ministers of Iran and Libya Tuesday urged the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) to reconsider its aims and objectives in the wake of changing world trends. 'Ali Akbar Velayati of Iran and Ibrahim al-Bishari of Libya are here for the 10th foreign ministerial conference of the NAM to open here Wednesday.

Speaking to newsmen, Velayati who arrived here Tuesday afternoon said "after the collapse of communism and the decline in East-West tension, it's incumbent on the movement to determine a new world order in which Third World Countries can participate actively."

He said the whole world would be looking forward to the final resolution of the Accra conference as it is the first meeting of the movement since the changes that have taken place in international relations.

On the Persian Gulf war, Iran's foreign minister said it left adverse effects on the Third World countries and created rift among the Third World countries. "As far as

our foreign policy is concerned, we opposed occupation of Kuwait, occupation of Iraq and presence of foreign forces in the region," he said.

Velayati added the Gulf war had taught the Third World a very important lesson of "fostering closer links and solving their problems themselves."

As for the U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 on ending Iraq-Iran war, Velayati told reporters that certain parts of the resolution have not been implemented and that Iran is engaged in talks with Iraq for implementation of the articles of the resolution.

He added that negotiations have been held on Paragraphs 6, 7 and 8 of the resolution. "One of the objectives of the visit to Tehran of U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar is to discuss execution of other articles of the resolution," Velayati said in reference to De Cuellar's visit scheduled for September 10.

Echoing Velayati, Libya's al-Bishari called for a change in the name of the Non-Aligned Movement to reflect current political changes in the world. He noted that with the collapse of the Eastern bloc and the end of the cold war "there is nothing to align oneself with." He suggested that the organization be called "Movement of Third World Countries."

Algerian Foreign Minister, Lakhdar Brahimi, in remarks to the press regretted that although South-South cooperation had been on the agenda of the movement for a long time, little had been achieved in the area of trade. He stressed the need for the NAM to come out with concrete decisions which would enhance trade among member-states.

Burundi**Tanzania's Mwinyi Begins Three-Day Visit***EA0309132091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1700 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] Bujumbura—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has said that the Government of Tanzania and Tanzanian nationals are ready to cooperate with the Government of Burundi in efforts to usher in national unity and resolve the problem of Burundi refugees in Tanzania and in other neighboring countries. President Mwinyi expressed these sentiments this morning when he was interviewed by reporters on arrival at Bujumbura Airport at the start of a three-day visit to Burundi.

On celebrations to mark the fourth anniversary of the third phase of the Government of the Republic of Burundi, which reach their climax tomorrow, President Mwinyi said he had come to Burundi to show the love and solidarity Tanzanians feel toward their Burundian brothers as well as to wish them prosperity in future.

President Mwinyi, who was accompanied by his wife, Mama Siti, was welcomed by his host, President Buyoya and his wife, Sophie, leaders of Burundi's ruling party, the National Unity and Progress Party, and by ministers. Thousands of Burundians and Tanzanians residing in Burundi also welcomed President Mwinyi when he arrived in Bujumbura despite the heavy rain that started shortly before his aircraft landed.

This afternoon, President Mwinyi led a Tanzanian delegation in talks with a Burundian delegation and toured Bujumbura Port on Lake Tanganyika. This evening, President Mwinyi is due to attend a state reception in Bujumbura.

Urges Further Cooperation*EA0309134091 Dar es Salaam Radio Tanzania Network in Swahili 1900 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] Bujumbura—President Ali Hassan Mwinyi has commended the government of President Pierre Buyoya of Burundi on its intensive efforts to achieve national unity in Burundi. Speaking at a state reception given by his host President Buyoya this evening, President Mwinyi said it was such efforts which enabled the Government of Burundi to maintain peace, politics, economy, and unity in the country.

The president, who is attending celebrations marking the fourth anniversary of the third phase of the Government of Burundi, expressed the hope that the harmony existing in the country would give Burundian refugees the confidence to go home.

President Mwinyi also commended the government of President Buyoya for its firm policy of promoting cooperation among neighboring states, which, he said, had consolidated relations between Tanzania and Burundi. Under this policy,

President Mwinyi said, Tanzania would not allow its territory to be used by refugees to engage in antigovernment activities against their home countries.

President Mwinyi, who will be in Burundi until 4 September, called for further promotion of bilateral cooperation in the trade, transport, and communications sectors. He pledged that Tanzania would speed up the handling of Burundi's exports and imports through Dar es Salaam port.

Cameroon**Nigerian Foreign Minister Ends Visit, Leaves***AB3108175091 Yaounde CRTV Radio Network in English 1800 GMT 31 Aug 91*

[Text] The Nigerian minister of external affairs, Major General Ike Nwachukwu, left Cameroon today after a four-day working visit. Maj. Gen. Ike Nwachukwu, who arrived in Yaounde last Tuesday [20 Aug], was granted audience by President Paul Biya.

Gen. Nwachukwu revealed that he was there to deliver a message from President Babangida to his Cameroonian counterpart. The Nigerian minister also met with several of Cameroon's cabinet ministers.

In commissions that brought together delegates from Cameroon and Nigeria, the Nigerian minister reminded citizens of both countries that they are bound to live together despite the artificial boundaries imposed by colonial masters. He called on Cameroonians and Nigerians to live in peace.

Women, Private Media Workers Demonstrate*AB0409092091 London BBC World Service in English 1705 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] In Cameroon, there have been yet more demonstrations as part of the campaign launched by the opposition to force President Biya into convening a national conference. Media workers have been out on the streets as well as senior citizens. From Bamenda Herbert Bo telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] Over 4000 old women staged a street demonstration in Bamenda today that lasted for three hours. The association of women which organized today's rally is known as (Takwenbang) and existed in the traditions of most tribes in this region as war class for women. When one of the association's leading members was beaten to death here three weeks ago, the association started holding demonstrations twice a week ensuring that Bamenda now has a demonstration every weekday.

At yesterday's demonstration, which involved over 20,000 people, the leader of the Social Democratic Front, John Fru Ndi, told his supporters not to give up the struggle for, he said, President Biya will end up listening to us.

Elsewhere in the country some 50 journalists and workers of private press organizations based in Douala held a demonstration today to protest against the banning of five French language weeklies two weeks ago. Among the papers banned was LE MESSAGER. The authorities then approved a new publication called LA MESSAGERE launched by the defunct MESSAGER but in spite of the approval, copies of its pioneer issues were seized by the police in Douala and Yaounde yesterday.

There were also 80 arrests reported in Douala by a mixed patrol of gendarmes, soldiers, and policemen. Among those arrested was Mr. Vincent Sacko, representative of an opposition party, who was taken into custody along with his wife and children above the age of five. His wife and children are being held at the Bonanjo Gendarmerie, but the whereabouts of Mr. Sacko are not known. [end recording]

Central African Republic

Radio Reports President Kolingba National Address

AB0209074391 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] In the Central African Republic [CAR], 1 September marks General Andre Kolingba's accession to power. Yesterday he addressed the entire CAR nation. President Kolingba announced that in the next few days he would designate an official who will be charged with mediating between the ruling government and the opposition. The head of state also announced a presidential pardon for a category of detainees, but the father of the nation stressed this does not result from any pressure.

In addition, the president took stock of his 10 years of power. The overall assessment is positive since the Army, which took over in 1981, has succeeded in restoring social order. At that time, the Army found a state authority that had died, with the people at the brink of civil war.

Taiwan Establishes Diplomatic Ties, Opens Embassy

AB3008203591 Bangui Radiodiffusion-Television
Centrafricaine Radio in French 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Excerpt] This morning Bangui and Taipei cemented their diplomatic relations with the opening of the representation of Nationalist China in the Central African Republic. Several members of the Central African Republic Government participated in the ceremony, including Foreign Minister Mr. Laurent Gomina-Pampali. The event was marked by a visit to the embassy

and signing of the visitor's book. The ceremony also gave the Chinese charge d'affaires the opportunity to express his satisfaction with these new relations between the Central African Republic and Taiwan. [passage omitted]

Equatorial Guinea

Foreign Minister Comments on Multiparty System

AB3008143091 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French
1830 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Text] The Equatorial Guinean foreign minister's visit to Gabon has ended. Mr. Santiago Eneme Ovono took the opportunity to hold talks with the Gabonese head of state, Omar Bongo. They discussed the democratic process in Equatorial Guinea and the two resolutions adopted at the last congress of the Democratic Party of Equatorial Guinea. The party decided at that congress to introduce the multiparty system in the country. According to Mr. Eneme Ovono, democratic openness must take place in peace:

[Begin recording] It is not an easy task to embark upon a democratic or political process. It is very difficult. We must first maintain order because we cannot embark upon a political process in disorder. We have learned about the experiences of some countries that embarked upon such a process. Did they make any positive achievement? I cannot mention the names of such countries but you, as a reporter, already know what happened in such countries. We in Equatorial Guinea want peace and we want to embark upon our process (?in peace). [end recording]

The Equatorial Guinea minister also met the opposition in exile during his visit. They discussed the issue of introducing a multiparty system. The opposition, which has expressed its desire to meet President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo to discuss the democratic process in Equatorial Guinea, hopes that things will develop fast. In this connection, let us listen to the statement made by Mr. Balinga, one of the opponents of President Obiang Mbasogo's regime, following his talks with the Equatorial Guinean foreign minister:

[Begin recording] We are optimistic. We are optimistic because once one begins talking about a multiparty system, it implies, whether we like or not, that there will always be a set path. We cannot predict anything, however, because the set conditions are not clear yet. As a first measure, we have asked President Obiang Nguema Mbasogo and his government to recognize all the political parties unconditionally and to promulgate a law granting general amnesty. We would later examine together the steps for (?advancing) this process. [end recording]

Zaire**BBC Reports Three Shot in Kinshasa Demonstration***AB0309172091 London BBC World Service in English
1515 GMT 3 Sep 91*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] The Zaire opposition claimed yesterday that 10 people had been killed in Kinshasa when security forces opened fire on demonstrators demanding the resignation of President Mobutu. That claim came from Brussels, but the information coming out of Kinshasa today suggests that while there were indeed violent demonstrations, the number of dead was not as high. From Kinshasa, Busongo Buyeme telexed this report.

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to official sources in Kinshasa, two men and one woman were shot and one person was seriously injured in yesterday's violence. The disturbances took place in the suburbs of Njili and Masena when supporters of the opposition clashed with the security forces.

Elsewhere in the city, there were large pro-opposition demonstrations, provoked by the expiry of an opposition deadline for the government to change the accreditation of people in the national conference as the opposition were unhappy with the present composition of that conference.

Thousands of demonstrators filled up the main streets of the city and for most the opposition demands were only part of a more general complaint about falling living standards and increasingly weak purchasing power for most of the population.

In another part of the city, demonstrators wrecked a theater belonging to the ruling party and made off with all the furniture. They also set fire to an official car that they found nearby.

There was more trouble outside the headquarters of the opposition UDPS [Union for Democracy and Social Progress] party. Demonstrators smashed the windows of various vehicles and were later dispersed by the forces of order who shot blank bullets into the air.

According to some sources here, the prime minister, Mr. Mulumba Lukoji, who was returning from a visit up-country, was blocked twice by barricades set up by the demonstrators. According to eyewitness reports, he was surrounded on both occasions by crowds of angry men calling for Mobutu to go and the government to resign. A number of arrests were made after yesterday's demonstrations which also coincided with the start of a civil servants strike. [end recording]

Government Employees Heed Strike Call*AB0309213091 Paris AFP in English 2052 GMT
3 Sep 91*

[Text] Kinshasa, Sept 3 (AFP)—Government employees stayed away from work in droves here Tuesday [3 September] following clashes Monday between security forces and demonstrators which left at least three people dead, witnesses said. The striking government employees, who are demanding a pay rise to cope with soaring prices, massed peacefully outside their offices. The city was calm otherwise Tuesday and barricades which had been erected by protestors around the capital were lifted overnight.

The official Zaire news agency AZAP said Tuesday that Monday's protests stemmed from discontent over "an unprecedented rise in prices in the Zaire capital." The agency did not mention any deaths in the clashes, which according to opposition sources here left three people dead.

(In Brussels, former Zaire foreign minister N'Guza Karl-I-Bond said Tuesday that the demonstrations resulted in at least four deaths—three women and a boy. Speaking on Belgian television, Bond, who was in Kinshasa on Monday, said that policemen had fired on a "peaceful crowd," causing the deaths. He said he had not seen the clashes himself, but officials of Uferi, one of the country's four main opposition parties, had told him they had seen four bodies. He also threatened a general strike if the promised national conference on the future of the country does not start work soon.)

Opposition sources had said on Monday that protestors took to the streets to denounce the high cost of living. They said then that security forces opened fire and tossed tear gas to disperse crowds, and that at least three people were killed. The state-owned press reported Tuesday that the price of bread has risen by 150 percent in two days and that the price of bus and train tickets has gone up by 350 percent since the beginning of the week.

Ethiopia

Eritrean Citizens Ordered To Surrender Weapons

EA3008093091 Asmera Voice of the Broad Masses
of Eritrea in Tigrinya 0400 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Directives issued by the Department of Security and Intelligence of the Provisional Government of Eritrea to civilians and members of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front, EPLF, on 28 August; place not given]

[Text] The following directive on weapons will be effective as of 28 August:

A. Regarding civilians:

1. All compatriots are prohibited from carrying any type of weapon, rifle, grenade, or pistol without a legal permit.
2. Any person who has not yet surrendered weapons which are still in his possession is requested to surrender them to the nearest police station.
3. If anyone is found with any type of weapon after this statement, he will be persecuted.

B. Regarding members of the EPLF: Based on the statement issued on 3 August regarding weapons, the following will be effective as of 28 August:

1. Apart from those who are allowed to carry weapons in towns, others are prohibited from carrying any type of weapons in towns—rifles, pistols, or grenades. Those who are still carrying weapons should surrender them to their respective units.
2. Those members of the EPLF who are allowed to carry weapons must also have a police permit.
3. Temporary permits can be issued by units in accordance with the 3 August statement, but this will not allow the carrying of weapons in towns.
4. Members of the police who are assigned to safeguard the security of towns are allowed to carry weapons only when they are on duty.
5. All units should collect weapons which are not really needed from their members.
6. Everyone is requested to cooperate with the police in implementing this statement.
7. All combatants who are in Asmera on assignments should carry their temporary identity card during their movements and produce it whenever asked by police.

Victory to the masses.

[Signed] Department of Security and Intelligence

Recent Fighting Hinders Refugees Receiving Aid

AB0309190091 Paris AFP in English 1804 GMT
3 Sep 91

[Excerpt] Addis Ababa, Sept 3 (AFP)—Desperately needed food aid has failed to reach refugees in parts of famine-stricken Ethiopia because of tribal fighting and banditry in the past two weeks, senior U.N. officials said Tuesday [3 September]. Emeka Azikiwe, head of the

executive committee of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), told a news conference that because of a breakdown in law and order in eastern Ethiopia, "there are areas in which we are not able to reach the refugees."

Cecil Kpenou, UNHCR representative in Ethiopia, said "inter-tribal" clashes between the eastern towns of Dire Dawa and Jijiga had "interrupted the supply for a fortnight." The two officials did not give details of the clashes or say which groups were involved.

Kpenou said the road had now been reopened, but added: "We don't know for how long." UNHCR says unsafe roads have forced it to mount airlifts to reach refugees in isolated eastern camps, which the agency estimates have cost an additional 14 million dollars. [passage omitted]

Kenya

President Moi Receives Iranian Delegation

EA2908145591 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 28 Aug 91

[Excerpt] His Excellency President Daniel arap Moi today said developing countries have to create and rely on their own manpower resource if they wish to prosper. The president further pointed out that development requires patriotism, determination, and sacrifice among the people. He was speaking at State House, Mombasa, after meeting with the visiting Iranian trade delegation.

President Moi described the visit as an eye-opener for the Iranians, (?saying) it would also enhance economic cooperation between the two countries. Noting that a Kenya delegation would make a return visit to Iran, President Moi said contact on cultural and other related fields were necessary to strengthen relations between the two countries.

On the Middle East conflict, President Moi said Kenya believed in love for the entire human race. He said in the absence of love, neither military action nor resolutions passed in international fora can resolve conflicts. His Excellency the president said only love for each other could create confidence and trust, and eventually resolve the long standing conflict.

And on South Africa, President Moi said although the final objective had not yet been achieved, notable positive steps had been taken towards that direction. He asked the leader of the delegation, Mr. Mohsen Rafiqhdoust, to convey his best wishes to President Rafsanjani. Mr. Rafiqhdoust brought a message of goodwill from President Rafsanjani to President Moi. The delegation was accompanied to State House by the minister for commerce, Mr. Arthur Magugu. [passage omitted]

Construction Agreement Signed With PRC

EA0409112091 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The Government of Kenya and the PRC today signed a construction agreement for the upgrading of Eldoret District and Uasin Gishu memorial hospitals to national referral and teaching hospitals for Moi University. The agreement for phase two of the project, which comprises an out-patient department, is estimated to cost 184 million shillings. The agreement was signed by the permanent secretary in the Ministry of Health, Mr. Daniel Mbiti, on behalf of the Kenya Government while the first secretary in the Chinese Embassy in Kenya, Mr. (Liu Zhongki), signed on behalf of his government. Phase one of the project is currently under implementation at an estimated cost of about 482 million shillings. Mr. Mbiti and the Chinese representative hailed the cordial and friendly relations existing between the two countries and expressed the need to further strengthen the relations.

Somalia**President Attends 2d Vice President Inauguration**

EA0209133591 Mogadishu Radio Mogadishu in Somali 1700 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Today Somali President Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed witnessed the inauguration of Mr. Omar Ma'alim Mohamed as the second vice president. The ceremony, which was held at the People's Hall in Mogadishu, was attended by Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden Gobe, the first vice president; Mr. Omar Arteh Ghalib, the

interim prime minister; the committee of elders; members of the Cabinet; heads of political organizations; guests of honor; and the public.

Delivering an important speech during the ceremony, Mr. Ali Mahdi Mohamed first congratulated the second vice president on his appointment, saying the people had charged him with this weighty responsibility, which must be carried out honestly, patriotically, and vigorously. President Mahdi went on to say he was delighted with the appointment of the two vice presidents, who, he said, from now on would play a great role in helping the president implement the program for the people. He added Mr. Abdulkadir Gobe and Mr. Omar Ma'alim had much political experience and were capable of helping to bring about the pacification of the Somali communities and of generally serving the people. The president also referred to the Somali people's struggle to bring about a democratic system that would work in their interests. [passage omitted]

The president called on the Somali public to lay down their arms, become brothers, and embark on national reconstruction. He appealed to them to cooperate with the police force.

The second vice president, who was sworn in by Judge Sheikh Hussein Sheikh Abokor, then expressed gratitude to the president and the Somali Patriotic Movement—which had nominated him to the post—the officials of the interim government, the committee of elders, and the distinguished guests in attendance. He pledged he would serve the Somali people with honesty and justice. Mr. Omar Ma'alim Mohamed, the second vice president, also pledged to embark on a program designed to bring peace to the people and take every step to help the people.

The sublime ceremony was highly organized. Sheikh Ali Mohamoud Hassan read verses from the Koran.

National Party Congress Begins in Bloemfontein

NP Congress Previewed

MB0109105291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1001 GMT 1 Sep 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Cape Town Sept 1 SAPA—The National Party [NP] will assemble 1,200 delegates from all four provinces at a federal congress in Bloemfontein on Wednesday [4 September] to present the final draft of its constitutional proposals. The landmark federal congress, only the fifth to be called since the NP came to power in 1948, will be asked to give its approval in principle to the National Party's plan for a new non-racial South Africa.

The individual provincial party congresses, starting with Natal on Thursday, will then be required to officially endorse the constitutional proposals which in essence will promote a highly decentralised federal system of government. Once all four provinces have approved the plan, the NP leadership will be empowered to put it on the multi-party negotiations table.

Wednesday's federal congress is also expected to deal with the mammoth organisational task ahead of it in the party's quest for maximum voter support in all communities and particularly for white votes in what now appears an inevitable tri-cameral referendum.

The congress will be the fulfillment of a goal hinted at in 1982 when the Third NP Federal Congress met in Bloemfontein to approve the then near revolutionary proposals for sharing power with coloureds and Indians in a tri-cameral parliament. This step had given birth to Dr Treurnicht's break-away Conservative Party.

The then minister of constitutional development under Prime Minister P W Botha, Mr Chris Heunis, told the congress the move was only a first step which would inevitably lead to a political dispensation to provide realistic political rights for blacks. The proposals were later endorsed by a national referendum, just as the republican proposal of the party's second federal congress of 1960 was endorsed in a subsequent referendum.

Nine years after Mr Heunis, his ministerial successor, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, will oversee the adoption of a political plan for absolute political equality which many members of the party view with trepidation. A formidable programme of discussion and elucidation has been drawn up not only to sell the proposals themselves to the party faithful, but to prepare the way for another likely referendum. It is expected that attention will also be given to verifying the viability and saleability of the constitutional plans both among the white electorate at large and at the multi-party negotiation table.

Details of the plan itself, for a highly decentralised nine-region federation under a bi-cameral parliament and an unusual 3 to 5-member presidential college, have

already been leaked to the media in "first-draft" form. These received wide-ranging criticism and reaction.

It is expected that Wednesday's proposals will have much of the rougher edges trimmed off but that they will maintain salient features such as:

- Integrated local and metropolitan authorities with substantial devolved legislative, executive and fiscal autonomy;
- Nine regional authorities with strong autonomous tax bases and legislative and executive powers;
- A central government "senate" giving equal representation on a regional basis to balance minority powers against a one-man-one-vote proportionately elected "assembly".
- A cabinet roughly proportionately representative of the main parties.

The proposals have, with the exception of the presidency and the number of regional states, been more or less paralleled by the Democratic Party which released a discussion document on its constitutional plans in the past week.

They have both come under attack from the ANC's [African National Congress] constitutional team which strongly favours a centralised political system in a unitary state to maximise national control over its envisaged socio-economic reconstruction of South Africa.

The federal approach of the NP and DP has however been judged the most viable constitutional vehicle by Western powers who see it as the only solution to the tremendous potential for conflict inherent in the multi-ethnicity and cultural divides of South Africa. The NP has however been most strongly criticised for its innovative approach of a presidential "college" as this is regarded as an ineffectual way of exercising power where it should be at its most decisive. It is possible that Wednesday's proposals may produce some amendment to this idea.

The federal congress is scheduled to start in the Bloemfontein city hall at 9am and the day's programme will be launched with an opening address by the party's leader, the state president, Mr F W de Klerk. The four provincial party leaders, Mr Kobie Coetsee (OFS [Orange Free State]), Mr Barend du Plessis (Transvaal), Mr George Bartlett (Natal), and Dr Dawie de Villiers (Cape) will each chair one of the day's four sessions which will concentrate first on elucidation and then on discussion of central, regional and local government. Dr Gerrit Viljoen will sketch points of departure and put the central government structure before tea, followed by Mr Hernus Kriel, the new minister of law and order, on regional and local government. A panel consisting of Mr Kobie Coetsee, Mr Leon Wessels and Dr Tertius Delport will then head the planned three-hour discussion which will follow.

The next day the proposals will be put to the Natal National Party Congress for approval. The OFS party will have to call a second congress later in the year as its

own two-day congress was cut short to accommodate the federal congress. It must also officially endorse the constitutional plan before the party can proceed with negotiations.

De Klerk Addresses Congress

*MB0409062191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0511 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] was striving for constitutional rule based on a participatory democracy, its leader, State President F. W. de Klerk, said on Wednesday.

His remarks were the preface to the party's constitutional proposals published in a discussion document "Constitutional Rule in a Participatory Democracy".

The document was launched at a media breakfast preceding the NP federal congress and asked for delegates' comment and deliberation.

In an introductory letter President De Klerk said the document was a summary of the principle underpinning the NP's views on a new constitution and was intended to demonstrate how these principles may find expression in such a constitution.

"As is quite evident from our theme, we are striving for a constitution under which South Africa may rightly be called a constitutional democracy." This implied that political power may not be solely vested in the hands of any single individual, political party or group.

"We therefore proclaim our opposition to domination of any kind. We favour a system which includes rather than excludes parties and groups," he said.

De Klerk on Indemnity Issue

*MB0409065991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0558 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The government was not being obstinate on the issue of indemnity, the state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk said on Wednesday.

Speaking at the National Party [NP] federal congress he said the government was also not prepared to emasculate and violate the country's system of criminal law.

"We would be doing this by not allowing the legal process to take its course in the case of serious common law offences," he said.

For the sake of peace and reconciliation the government had taken far-reaching steps in this respect. A reasonable set of guidelines in respect of political offences, internationally accepted in the case of Namibia, had been, and

was now also being very flexibly and reasonably applied to ensure objective analysis and decisions.

"We cannot however go any further than that."

Every South African wishing to avoid chaos and lawlessness would do well in supporting the government in this matter.

"There dare not be any political expediency here.

"The government is not obstinate. It is striving for maximum reasonableness and regard for humanity in handling these tricky issues.

"We are deeply aware of our responsibility towards God and no decision which could involve human life is made lightly," President De Klerk said.

Further on De Klerk Address

*MB0409070991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0601 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] had the capacity, and would not hesitate to use it, to stop the adoption of a constitution which militated against civilised values, the state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said on Wednesday.

He addressed the party's federal congress in his capacity as leader and warned the ANC [African National Congress] on trying to steamroller the NP on the question of an interim government.

The NP was not opposed to the concept of transitional arrangements and would include these in negotiations, he said.

"We are however strongly opposed to any form of government which is not based on the constitution as it is, or as it may be at any given time.

"We are not prepared to suspend the constitution."

He wanted to add, not in any emotional spirit, but coolly, calmly and with due regard to reason:

"The National Party will not allow itself to be knocked down.

"The maintenance of the sovereignty of the republic of South Africa and the attendant continuation of government according to the constitution of the day are not negotiable."

Mr De Klerk was elaborating on formal constitutional proposals presented to the congress for consideration and said the NP had never asked for a mandate to hand over complete power to the ANC or anybody else.

"The National Party is not even considering that," he said.

A just, democratic dispensation would have to come about by orderly and peaceful negotiations in which all parties with proven support should participate.

The NP stood for a just new system which struck a balance between the protection of existing and established rights and the extension of rights to all South Africans.

It stood for a new dispensation which did away with all forms of racial discrimination while taking into account the needs of the country's diverse population.

Such a dispensation would also be in line with the highest values which had proved themselves in successful democracies all over the world.

"In our defence of these values we shall not waver. The National Party has the capacity to prevent the adoption of a constitution which will militate against these values.

"We will not hesitate to use that ability," Mr De Klerk said.

At grassroots level the party currently enjoyed considerable support among black South Africans and majority support among all the other population groups. It was therefore the mouthpiece of millions of South Africans who supported its values and objectives.

The constitutional proposals were not a blueprint but a framework which sought to bring about the goals set out in the party's action plan.

It offered full participation to all at all levels of government, effective protection against domination, total absence of racial discrimination and protection against the abuse of majority power.

"Nobody can assert that it does not offer every South African full political rights on an equitable basis," he said.

It would ensure that the new constitution and manifesto of fundamental rights could not be manipulated while it offered a place in the sun for the cultural diversities of the country.

Dealing with the leaked, near identical, set of draft proposals and subsequent criticism, Mr De Klerk rejected categorically the claim that proposals concerning municipal franchise (for landowners, leasees and ratepayers) had racist overtones or violated the principle of universal franchise.

Special recognition of the rights of home owners, home dwellers and rate payers was not new in South Africa and was also to be found in Australia.

"It is furthermore untrue that this proposal has any hidden racial motive.

"It seems to me that the National Party is succeeding far better at breaking away from an obsession with colour than some of our critics on the left. We are concerned

about values and stability. They are obviously still concerned with a difference between black and white."

Those who insinuated that the NP had a hidden agenda on the question of minority rights were not being honest. The party had consistently stressed non-domination and its viewpoint had been put to and understood by heads of state in the United States, Europe and Africa.

The party's extraordinary proposal for a executive collegiate presidency had also provoked wide interest and reaction.

The NP proposed it because it believed the concentration of power in the hands of a single person was the major single factor bedevilling badly needed cooperation.

"As long as an executive president alone holds as much power as the present constitution vests in the holder of this office, there will be aggressive competition among political leaders and their parties to attain that position."

There was only one solution, to put the leaders of the largest political groupings to act as statesmen rather than politicians, to decide things together and to be called to account together, building a new system together in which mistrust and conflict had to be replaced by mutual understanding and cooperation.

De Klerk on Constitutional Plan

MB0409072091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0610 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The government would continue to offer political parties and leaders police protection when circumstances required it, the state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said on Wednesday.

He addressed the party's federal congress on its constitutional plan and renewed his appeal to Dr Andries Treurnich and the Conservative Party [CP] to distance themselves from violence, disruption and disregard of the law.

The NP would not be intimidated and he advised National Party leaders all over the country to arrange their meetings and liaise with the head office and the police and to plan their strategies to avoid unpleasantness.

The CP, AWB [Afrikaner Resistance Movement] and other right-wing organisations were presently trying to intimidate the NP, some making dire threats, some planning violence and others actually committing violence.

The CP, the only party with notable support in these ranks, was playing a very dubious part in this process. One day Dr Treurnicht appealed for calm and the next closed his eyes to active participation by his caucus members in AWB actions such as that at Ventersdorp. He was trying to keep both the moderates and radicals in his party ranks happy.

They were playing with fire, Mr De Klerk said. The National Party would continue, within the bounds of the law, to exercise its democratic right and hold meetings where and when it wished.

When the time came the NP would, as it had promised, test the electorate by way of referendum or election. It believed that when it came to a new constitution a referendum was the best channel to decide, but the party was bound by the constitutional requirements for an election.

The CP's fear of a referendum spoke volumes, Mr De Klerk said.

"If they believe they have the majority they so regularly claim to have, why are they that negative about a referendum to decide a new constitution?"

"The answer is obvious," Mr De Klerk said.

Three-Tier Government Proposed

*MB0409063791 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0529 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] proposes a three-tier government, each elected with legislative and executive powers and its own tax base, to rule a future South Africa.

This was the essence of the constitutional structure presented to the party's federal congress on Wednesday.

Such a three-tier system, the NP's constitutional discussion document argues, took account of the rich diversity and needs—including that for self-determination—in regional and local context.

It also brought government as close to the people as possible allowing decisions to be taken at a level where the citizen's position was best understood.

The system would also take account of the need for a rationalised and effective state administration.

The question was the determination of boundaries. The NP proposed nine regions: western Cape, northern Cape, OFS [Orange Free State] and QwaQwa, eastern Cape, Natal/kwaZulu, eastern Transvaal and kaNgwane, northern Transvaal and Lebowa/Gazankulu, the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area and kwaNdebele and, finally, the western Transvaal.

The TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states would have to negotiate their future relationship with South Africa while local authority boundaries would have to be delimited on an appropriate geographic basis so as to replace the current race-based boundaries.

A delimitation authority could handle this.

Negotiation at All Levels Proposed

*MB0409062891 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0524 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] foresees that negotiations at national, regional and local level would be needed to achieve the best possible result in constitution-making.

According to a discussion document on constitutional proposals presented to the NP federal congress on Wednesday, a new constitutional dispensation should rest on certain fixed points of departure.

These included:

- Maintenance of accepted values and norms;
- Universal franchise in a democratic structure of government;
- Freedom of apartheid and discrimination in any form;
- Freedom from domination;
- An ordered and orderly society;
- Enabling good government;
- Ensuring justice for all;
- Promotion of a market-orientated economy coupled with private initiative and social responsibility;
- Accommodating cultural differences, and;
- Enabling all South Africans to share in peace, progress and prosperity.

The document concedes there is considerable differences of opinion as to how these basic points of departure can be accommodated in a constitution and says the NP would therefore strive for:

- Negotiation at national level in order to reach agreement on the broad structure of government and to establish the position of central, regional and local authorities;
- Negotiation at regional level so that the needs, aspirations and problems of the residents of such a region may be properly accommodated, and;
- Negotiation at local level in order to accomplish co-operation and harmony at grassroots level.

'Participatory Democracy' Sought

*MB0409063991 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0532 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] would seek a participatory democracy in which a constitutional South African state was established, the party's federal congress heard on Wednesday.

Constitutional proposals containing details of how such a goal was to be achieved were formally presented to the rare congress for consideration and debate.

The National Party's constitutional proposals accepted the rule of law as the basis for justice and a limitation on the power of the state.

A constitutional state meant that the constitution regulated the power of the state in such a way that freedom, justice and legal certainty were guaranteed for all, the NP's printed proposals said.

They are to be discussed and later sanctioned by the four provincial party congresses.

Seven principles determined a constitutionally entrenched legal dispensation, the document said:

- A constitution enjoyed higher status than any other law, amended only by special procedures;
- A charter of fundamental rights needed to be constitutionally protected to secure individual and group rights;
- An independent judiciary was the cornerstone of a constitutional state, measuring legislative and executive action against the constitution and the bill of rights;
- An independent ombudsman was required to prevent government and state abuse of power;
- The integrity of the constitution needed protection;
- The civil service needed to be impartial and professional.

Building these principles into the constitution would ensure that: the interests of all citizens were respected by government; the fundamental rights of individuals, including those exercised in groups, would be protected; the government remained subject to the law and could not interfere in fields not legally entitled to do so; the abuse of power and maladministration was prevented, and; the constitution was maintained.

A secondary pillar of a participatory democracy was the development of a system of government in which a number of political parties effectively participated through power sharing.

This could be achieved firstly by dividing political power among various authorities—the most important being the different tiers of (regional and local) government, normally referred to as the principle of devolution of power.

Secondly, it could be achieved by creating an effective say and participation in state power for a number of parties.

It was in pursuit of the second that the party then proposed a political model for South Africa based on a highly decentralised system under a two-chamber parliament, a "collective" presidency of three or more primary party leaders, and a multi-party cabinet.

Constitutional Model Proposed

MB0409065191 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0538 GMT 4 Sep 91

[By Pierre Claassen]

[Text] Bloemfontein Sept 4 SAPA—The National Party [NP] has proposed a new constitutional model in which home ownership may play a decisive political role, particularly at local and regional government level.

A discussion document setting out the constitutional principles for a new South Africa and their likely application in a political model was presented to the party's federal congress on Wednesday.

It differed only slightly from a draft which was leaked to a Sunday newspaper a fortnight ago.

The model confirms the NP's unusual proposal for a presidential "college" of the major party leaders, a cabinet representing all parties with a specified minimum representation, a two-chamber national legislature and substantial devolution of power to nine regional authorities and unified local authorities with substantial autonomy.

The concept of a participatory democracy underlies the entire model with substantial checks and balances to curb majority domination.

The structure's lowest level is designated neighbourhood councils instituted on a voluntary basis within any municipal area and would have autonomous powers over matters such as:

- Regulating norms and standards;
- Granting licenses;
- Provision of community facilities;
- Security;
- Legislatively allocated matters such as education and welfare.

The envisaged city councils could be put into effect by:

- Electing the council on the basis of representation of wards;
- Determining franchise in accordance with both the interests of all lawful residents and "particularly the interests of owners, lessees and rate-payers;"
- A combination model of the above two, and;
- Providing for special decision-making procedures, such as increased majority votes in the council in respect of circumscribed sensitive matters.

Regionally the NP proposes that a legislative council be established for nine regions with their numerical strength determined by the size of each voting population.

Representatives are to be elected from electoral districts on a proportional basis while nomination of part of the membership could come from local authorities or sub-regions.

Decision-making procedures would provide protection of minority interests and certain circumscribed matters.

A regional executive committee could be constituted of three or five leaders of political parties with a predetermined minimum representation in the council and would function collectively as a unit.

The envisaged parliament would have a first house elected on a proportional basis with a second, smaller house with an equal number of seats allocated to each region.

Each political party again attaining a predetermined minimum of seats at regional level would get an equal number of seats for that region in the second house. Every political party enjoying a significant amount of support at regional level will thus be represented in the second house, resulting in equal representation of both regions and those parties with significant support.

The second house will deliberate on bills approved by the first house and pass them by simple majorities except where a weighted majority is required such as legislation:

- Amending the constitution;
- Relating to minority interests;
- Relating to regional interests;
- Entrenched constitutional clauses.

The executive authority, the NP argues, should not be constituted from one party and proposes a proportional structure as with the regional executive.

The presidency too is allocated to three or possibly five majority party leaders.

Constitutional Proposals From Parties Viewed

NP Proposals Noted

*MB0109192691 Johannesburg RAPPORT in Afrikaans
25 Aug 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "NP's Plan for South Africa"]

[Text] In ten days' time the National Party [NP] plans to put all its cards on the table. At its Bloemfontein congress it is going to reveal to its followers how the new South Africa should be governed.

Today RAPPORT is first with news on the party's constitutional proposals. With these proposals on hand the NP will ultimately go to the negotiations table.

The final polishing will be done this week on the most important constitutional document since the one in 1983 on the present tricameral-parliament.

At a special NP Federal Congress in Bloemfontein on Wednesday 4 September, delegates will examine and discuss the proposals after which it will probably be presented to their provincial congresses for approval.

With these proposals a key concept is drawn out of the foul world of political theory and harnessed anew in practical politics: participation democracy.

This means that not only the majority party should rule. All parties with a specific percentage support must rule collectively. Up to the level of the head of state.

"Participatory democracy" is one cornerstone of the proposals.

The other is that South Africa should be a just state in which all subordinates are protected by the Constitution against the authorities. The Constitution will keep check on the government to ensure that every individual will enjoy freedom and justice, and to be sure of protection by the law.

The proposals include:

A multiparty cabinet made up of candidates from parties with sufficient support.

The single presidential head of state to be replaced by an executive council of three to five members.

Two Houses of Parliament.

Proportional representation instead of the current "winner-takes-all" model in the first House of Parliament: parties will be allocated representation based on countrywide support and not on constituents won.

Nine regions, each with its own government.

New municipal boundaries so that white, black, colored and Indian would be administered by single municipal councils.

A democratic state with no apartheid and no racial discrimination.

A system of one-man-one-vote without any group domination.

The proposals are the result of about 18 months' hard work by different think-tanks within the party.

The Federal Council of the National Party this week accepted the temporary proposals after discussions.

Senior Nationalists immediately began to plead for all South Africans to be informed about the proposals.

NP supporters have been complaining that they have been left in the dark as to what the party's intentions were for the future. The NP could not risk its followers thinking it had no plans for the future.

Moreover, the party has to deal with severe rightist propaganda accusing it of planning to surrender everything during the negotiations with the ANC [African National Congress] and other parties.

Details about the government's plans, which differ from the ANC's school of thought in important aspects, will put an end to these accusations.

Although some Federal Council members objected because they believed the NP "must leave its options open", it's finally been decided: Tell the people where we stand. The sooner the better.

For the leader of the NP, president F.W. de Klerk, this meant: As soon as possible. Members of the Federal Council were still considering a conference in a month's time, or two, but the date had already been set for next week. The Orange Free State Congress has been brought forward by a day, the second day being earmarked for a federal congress.

Arrangements are hastily made to get Nationalists from all four provinces to the Orange Free State capital at short notice.

If the whole party gives the green light to the proposals, it becomes official party policy, and the NP will go with it to the negotiations table where it will be considered by the negotiating parties.

Adjustments to the proposals is still possible. It can take place well after the legal commission has submitted its report on constitutional models.

ANC, NP Models Compared

MB3008160091 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
30 Aug 91 p 13

[Article by Peter Fabricius and Shaun Johnson: "Two Visions of the New South Africa"]

[Text] At first glance the two models bear strong resemblance to each another—surprisingly so, given the decades of ideological hostility between the National Party [NP] and the ANC [African National Congress]. But close analysis shows that, once implemented, they would produce strikingly different forms of government.

There are broad, important areas of convergence. Both models are apparently democratic; both acknowledge the principle of universal franchise; both propose bicameral legislatures involving the system of proportional representation; and both doff a hat to devolution of power by proposing elected regional and local authorities.

However, these resemblances mask substantial underlying differences. The ANC would give equal weight to every vote at every level of government, but the NP would attach different weights to different votes at every level of government.

In essence, the ANC model would concentrate power at the centre, while the NP plan would disperse it, politically and geographically, as far as possible.

The ANC proposes a majoritarian government where the majority's power would be qualified only by the constitution and the courts, and not by any other political party.

The NP propose a consociational style of government favouring minorities, where the power of the majority would be qualified at every turn by other parties, and some decisions would have to be taken by consensus.

In the ANC model, the majority party could appoint the president (or this position could be directly elected, still virtually ensuring it was filled by the majority party's candidate) as well as the entire Cabinet.

It would control all legislation, except, if it did not enjoy a two-thirds majority, changes to the constitution.

In practice, the ANC's commitment to decentralisation—in the forms of a second house of Parliament and regional and local authorities—would not substantially restrict the power of the majority party in central government.

The majority could dictate policy to regional and local authorities. And the ANC's second house of Parliament (where regions would be represented) would have the power to slow down, but not to stop, legislation emanating from the first house, or National Assembly. Control of this house would be vested in a simple majority.

However, the ANC's endorsement of a system of proportional representation in the National Assembly—and the possibility of regional lists in voting for the Senate—would give more power to minority parties than they enjoy under the Westminster system of single-member constituencies.

By contrast, the NP's model would disperse power to the perimeters in a multitude of ways—some quite spectacular and unprecedented. The proposal to replace the present executive president with a three-to-five member multiparty Executive College would mark this as one of the most decentralised systems in the world.

Further, this supreme executive body would make all decisions by consensus—another remarkable brake on the powers of the majority party.

The two houses of Parliament might collectively pass a motion of no-confidence in the Executive College as a whole but, significantly, could not exercise this form of censure against individual members of the college.

The aim of this provision would seem to be to ensure that a majority in Parliament could not selectively remove minority-party members of the Executive College.

Unlike the relatively weak ANC Senate—it is viewed as the "guardian of the constitution"—the NP's second house of Parliament would be an extraordinary powerful body, with a veto over decisions by the majority in the

first house, and the authority to initiate its own legislation on matters of regional and minority interest.

Since this would be the seat of power of minorities, the veto right of the second house would give minorities enormous clout—to the extent that, hypothetically, if they decided to form coalitions, their power could possibly be even greater than that of the majority.

The NP proposes that each of the country's nine regions should receive equal representation in the second house.

Although it is impossible to compute the permutations of how this elaborate system might work in practice, it is clear that it would impose tremendous constraints on the majority party, and oblige it to enter into coalitions in order to pass legislation.

Even in the first house of Parliament—elected on the basis of one person, one vote—a simple majority would not be enough to secure approval in as yet undefined “sensitive” matters.

At lower levels of government, the NP would also like to substantively dilute the power of the majority. In town and city councils, for instance, it proposes that property owners, tenants and ratepayers should receive greater representation than ordinary voters.

Geographically, the NP also proposes to devolve real (“original”) and not merely delegated powers to the nine regions—each with its own legislature and executive—and to elected local governments.

It goes even further by proposing that elected neighbourhood councils be set up within municipalities, possibly at sub-urban level, to control very localised matters such as the granting of licences for property use.

The plan does not seem to have defined the precise powers of the lower levels of government, though the NP has made it clear before that it would like them to be considerable.

It is only when one moves beyond the shared declamatory commitments to broad principles such as nonracialism and democracy that the very different points of departure being utilised in each political camp become clear.

And it is the detailed proposals which flow from those points of departure that will be the focus of the real horse-trading around the constitutional negotiating table.

The Nat Blueprint

The National Party envisages a united, democratic, nonracial South African republic, but with heavy emphasis on the devolution of power from the central government to regional and local authorities, and weighted representation for minorities.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A **unitary state**, comprising the present RSA including self-governing territories, but with a strong federal flavour. The future status of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states has not yet been made clear.

Three branches of government: the **executive, legislature and judiciary**.

A multiparty **Executive College** to head the state, consisting of between three and five members of the strongest parties in the **first house of Parliament**, deciding by consensus. These parties together should command a majority of the representatives in this house. The chairmanship of the Executive College would operate on a rotational basis. A multiparty **Cabinet** would be appointed on the basis of consensus by the Executive College, and would be obliged to follow its policy.

Two houses of Parliament. The first elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage. The powers of the majority in the first house would be limited by the requirement of an increased majority for some “sensitive” matters and the need for agreement with a **second house of Parliament**.

The second, smaller, house would be the seat of power of minorities, representing the proposed nine regions. Each party achieving more than a specified minimum support level in elections for the legislature in that region would get equal seats for that region. The functions of the second house would be by a simple majority to approve ordinary laws passed by the first house; by a two-thirds majority to pass legislation amending the constitution, or affecting regions or minorities, or which was entrenched in the constitution; and to initiate laws affecting the specific interests of minorities and regions.

Elections would clearly be held regularly and conducted by secret ballot. This assumption is made on the basis of previously consistent NP statements, although these electoral mechanisms are not specifically dealt with in the current plan.

The use of **proportional representation** in elections for the first house of Parliament does not rule out the possibility of some parallel constituency representation. The German example is given, where half the seats in the legislature are chosen according to the winner-takes-all system in single-member constituencies.

The NP plan makes no mention of a **constitutional court** but stresses heavily that its philosophical basis is a “regstaat” (untranslatable, but roughly a “rule-of-law state”) and posits the constitution as the supreme law, alterable only by special procedures in the two houses of Parliament. The courts would be empowered to ensure these procedures are followed.

Each of the nine **regions** would have a legislature, chosen by a mix of direct elections on the basis of proportional representation in constituencies and possibly indirect

election from representatives of local legislatures. Each region would also have an **executive committee**.

The executive committee would comprise the leaders of all the parties which commanded more than a minimum percentage of the vote in the legislatures. If these became unworkable, the executive committee could consist of only the leaders of the strongest parties which together command a simple majority.

The **regional** and **local** authorities would enjoy real autonomous powers over certain as yet unspecified matters, and not merely delegated powers, and would have their own tax bases.

A **bill of fundamental rights** not spelt out in the NP document, would be enshrined in the constitution. The courts would be empowered to enforce it.

To ensure that the State did not abuse power, a new procedure would be developed for the appointment of **judges** to ensure their impartiality. In addition the **auditor-general**, **public service commission** and **Reserve Bank** would be given greater autonomy. An independent and objective **ombudsman** would be appointed.

The ANC Blueprint

The ANC envisages a united, democratic, nonracial and non-sexist South African republic, with only limited powers devolved from central to regional and local structures, and no special dispensation for minority groups.

Its key components and characteristics could be:

A **unitary** state, that is a single, non-fragmented entity including Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, with a strong central government.

Three branches of government: the **executive**, **legislative** and **judiciary**.

A **president** who would be head of the executive and head of state. It is undecided as to whether the president should be elected directly by the public—and consequently vested with greater executive powers—or elected by and answerable to Parliament. A **Cabinet** would be headed by a **prime minister**, who would be subordinate to, but act in consultation with, the president. Both the prime minister and the Cabinet would be appointed by the president.

Two houses of Parliament. The first a **National Assembly**, elected on the basis of proportional representation by universal suffrage in which all persons would have an equal vote without regard to race, gender, ethnic origin, language or creed. Primary legislative power would be vested in this house.

The second house would be a **Senate**, also elected by universal suffrage, but on a different electoral system allowing for regional—though not ethnic—representation. The ANC insists this would neither be a

corporatist chamber made up of interest groups (youth, labour, women or business, or other groups), nor would it represent ethnic or so-called "community" interests. The **Senate**, as the "guardian of the constitution", would refer constitutional disputes to the appropriate courts, and have the power to review. It would be able, where appropriate, to delay legislation from the **National Assembly** but not to veto it.

Elections would be held at intervals of not more than five years, and conducted by secret ballot. An independent electoral commission would supervise them, and also adopt regulations for access by parties to public media.

The use of **proportional representation** means there would be no delimitation of constituencies, which is regarded as too time-consuming and expensive. There could be both national and regional electoral lists, with regions given, for example, half the available seats. Despite the possibility of having two lists, voters would cast one vote only.

A **constitutional court**, appointed by the president possibly on the recommendation of a judicial service commission, would be responsible for the interpretation of the constitution and the application of the law of the land. The constitution would be amended only if two-thirds of the National Assembly concurred, or two-thirds of voters in a national referendum. The constitution would be supreme.

Positions in organs of **local** and **regional** government would be elected by universal franchise. Although their powers would be delegated from the centre, they would have wide discretion over local policies provided they were not in conflict with national policies.

Regions would not be devised as means of perpetuating privilege, or ethnic or regional divisions along territorial zones, but would be based upon the distribution of population, availability of economic resources, and urban/rural balances. Central government would control external relations, defence and security; general economic, fiscal and tax policy; national policy frameworks; and resources for social upliftment and the removal of historical imbalances in the society. Regional and local authorities' powers would be clearly circumscribed.

A justiciable **bill of rights** would protect rights and freedoms, including economic rights. All legislation inconsistent with the bill of rights would be invalidated.

A **human rights commission** would investigate violations, and a **public service commission** would be established to oversee recruitment, promotion and dismissal and to implement an affirmative action programme in the public service. An independent **ombudsman** would investigate complaints against the public service.

DP on Interim Coalition Government

*MB0109133091 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1304 GMT 1 Sep 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 1 SAPA—The Democratic Party [DP] on Sunday proposed an interim coalition government and transitional measures involving amendments to the present Constitution.

"The Democratic Party believes that a start must be made during the transitional period to build (a) democratic centre. To be successful, transition must be an inclusive process involving as broad a cross section of South Africans as possible," the DP said in a discussion paper made available to SAPA on Sunday.

It would work towards the formation of a government of national reconciliation that would bring together "significant sections (if not all) of the African National Congress, the National Party, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the DP and other democratic parties."

"The DP also advocates an incremental approach to the transition. Very importantly, this involves the adaptation of the present Constitution to accommodate transitional measures negotiated prior to the adoption of an entirely new constitution."

The transitional government of national reconciliation should aim at:

- Preserving constitutional and legal continuity of government,
- Building credibility, legitimacy and acceptability of government decisions and policies by broadening the base of government,
- Promoting and ensuring even-handed and impartial stewardship of key government functions, particularly control of government expenditure, of the broadcast media and of the security forces,
- Ensuring stability and continued loyalty and commitment of public servants; and
- Promoting shared responsibility and to build trust and goodwill between participating political groups.

The DP suggests in its discussion paper the formation of multi-party cabinet committees and a council of leaders. The council would be appointed by the all-party/multi-party conference [APC/MPC] and major parties would have representation on such a council.

"The state president will exercise all executive functions provided for in the Constitution on the advice of the council of leaders in a manner in which he normally acts on the advice of the cabinet," the paper said.

In proposing interim measures, the DP said solutions needed to be found to urgent problems facing the country.

"The Democratic Party believes it is not necessary to wait for a new constitution to be finalised before negotiating and applying solutions to urgent problems facing the country."

"Some changes will have to be made to the present Constitution to sanction transitional structures and procedures prior to the negotiation" of a new constitution.

It urged that Parliament should, as soon as possible, pass legislation abolishing the distinction between Own Affairs and General Affairs Departments and provide for single departments.

It also urged the negotiation by the all party conference/multi party conference of an interim bill of rights that would contain a code of conduct for political parties, including an obligation to conduct their activities peacefully.

"To have legal force, the bill of rights would have to be submitted to, and endorsed by Parliament," the DP said.

Outlining proposals on procedures for the negotiation of a new constitution, the DP suggested a rotating chairmanship or neutral facilitators who would convene meetings of the body or bodies drawing up the constitution.

The negotiation process would be supervised by a negotiation commission, served by a secretariat, it said.

"In order to ensure that the forum charged with the task of negotiating the new constitution is representative of the widest cross-section of political opinion, the Democratic Party proposes that the APC/MPC agree to the election of a constitutional conference [CC], whose only task it will be to draw up a new constitution," the discussion paper said.

The constitutional conference, which the DP said should consist of about 200 members, would be elected on the basis of universal adult franchise.

"Parliament shall provide for the approval of the draft constitution by a referendum of all adult South Africans," it said.

In order to ensure the legal continuity of South African Constitution, the DP suggested Parliament should pass legislation which establishes the constitutional conference, provides for elections and which gives the CC legal authority to draw up a constitution.

It said elections in terms of the new constitution would be held within three months of the document becoming law. Elections would be supervised by the negotiation commission or a body agreed upon by the APC/MPC.

The Democratic Party also proposed the appointment by the appellate division of a panel of three judges to adjudicate disputes arising during the negotiation period concerning interpretation of constitutional principles and procedures.

Conflicting Models Viewed

MB0209115091 Johannesburg THE STAR in English
2 Sep 91 p 8

[Article by Herman Gilliomee: "Compromise on Majority Rule"]

[Text] With the publication of the National Party's [NP] concept constitutional proposals the political conflict in South Africa has finally crystallised into two conflicting models of democracy challenging each other.

The challenge is well encapsulated in the words of Jurg Steiner's study on conflict resolution in Switzerland. It is called: "Amicable Agreement versus Majority Rule".

In essence the ANC [African National Congress] is proposing the German model of majority rule. Although not a classic form of Westminster winner-takes-all rule the German model does make it possible for one of the two largest parties to be kept out of government for a prolonged period of time. For close to 10 years the Christian Democrats have ruled and the Social Democrats have been effectively kept out of the executive level of government.

By contrast, the NP's concept proposals take as its model for the executive the Amicable Agreement of the Swiss. Without agreeing in advance on a common programme the two federal chambers choose a federal council or Cabinet according to the 2:2:2:1 Formula.

Van Zyl Slabbert and David Welsh sum it up well in their seminal study, "South Africa's Options." "As all important interests are represented within the council, the process of collective decision-making requires that differences be negotiated, which has the effect of ensuring that each decision is a nationally acceptable compromise."

It is known that President de Klerk carefully questioned members of the Swiss Cabinet during his recent visit to that country. They urged on him the necessity of keeping the executive Cabinet as small as possible.

In all probability this decisively shaped the NP's idea of a presidential college consisting of a minimum of three but not more than five members. It is within this presidential college that the conflicts which build up in the larger Cabinet will ultimately have to be resolved.

The NP's further dilutes the principle of majority rule by proposing for the second chamber the model of the American Senate which gives each state equal representation.

Applied to South Africa this would mean that the sparsely populated northern Cape region would enjoy equal representation in the second chamber with the Witwatersrand, as do North Dakota and California.

The NP's final curb on majority rule is a thorough-going devolution of power to the regions and the metropolitan

centres which would presumably be given the optimal capacity to raise and redistribute revenue.

Here Switzerland must again have acted as a model. One of the main reasons why the Swiss model works so well lies in the fact that most conflict is being resolved on cantonal level. This considerably eases the burden of the national government and makes capture of the central state much less desirable.

The challenge between the NP espousing Amicable Agreement and the ANC proposing Majority Rule will be the main issue confronting the parties in the forthcoming negotiations. At the same time we shall undoubtedly see frantic international lobbying by both the NP and ANC in an effort to prove that their brand of democracy is the genuine kind.

For its part the ANC can count on a well-established tradition in Western political thinking that democracy must involve some form of majority rule. It can also point to statements by eminent American political scientists in arguing the case that majority rule is indeed the most suitable form of government for South Africa. On the basis of comparative studies, scholars have argued that unless a political system generates enthusiasm and high voter participation it is bound to be unstable.

Radicals are inevitably drawn to unconstitutional means if they find that the system retains the existing balance of wealth and power. Leaders of the poorer group are unwilling to demand sacrifices from their followers because they are not really in a position to deliver substantial material rewards.

With this in mind the renowned American political scientist Seymour Martin Lipset has argued that "if the outcome of the political game is not the periodic awarding of effective authority to one group, unstable and irresponsible government rather than democracy will result."

The NP response to this argument will be that Majority Rule in South Africa will cause far greater levels of conflict. It will lead to a massive settling of scores between black groups which have been fighting each other.

The white right wing in alliance with sections of the armed forces may embark on a scorched earth campaign. We could well have plunging investor confidence and an exodus of capital and skill. Like the Soviet Union, South Africa could implode.

The NP, in short, will argue to the world that Majority Rule works only in ethnically homogeneous societies and that the only hope for democracy in divided societies such as South Africa lies in a form of power-sharing. It will point to Switzerland and a case where majority rule is not necessary to resolve conflicts between quite different groups.

The Swiss experience has been that Amicable Agreement in the resolution of conflicts—from the information-gathering stage to the ultimate making of decisions—produces a reduction of hostility between groups.

For the ANC, entering into a power-sharing agreement with the NP is one thing; however, to do so because the constitution actually prescribes it is a most unpalatable prospect. It raises the spectre of finding itself ensnared in the very same predicaments as the Labour Party under the present constitution. The ANC may well wish to postpone a decision as long as possible.

However, here the crucial question is whether it has the resources to do so. The most revealing aspect of the ANC's July conference was that it relies for more than 90 percent of its income on external funding and resources. The response of major donors such as the Scandinavian countries may be crucial in forcing its hand.

Even more significantly, its own constituency may not be as averse to the idea as is generally thought. Opinion polls, some taken at the height of the recent unrest, show that the great majority of blacks want a government in which all groups are represented without anyone dominating it.

Unless the Government commits another Inkathagato type of blunder or fails to control the security forces, the ANC will probably end up by having to buy something close to the NP's current proposals.

NP Plan Not 'Final Blueprint'

MB0309180491 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Text] The National Party does not regard the constitutional proposals that will be put to its one-day federal conference in Bloemfontein tomorrow as a final blueprint for a new constitution.

The secretary-general of the party, Dr. Stoffel van der Merwe, told a news conference in Bloemfontein that the proposal should be seen only as a first session document with which the party wanted to go to the negotiation table. He said there were two aspects to the document. On the one hand, it set out broad principles and; on the other, it put forward ways in which these principles could be applied in a constitutional model.

The details of the principles could be changed and it will be possible for the provincial congresses to suggest specific changes. He emphasized that the federal congress could not take binding decisions and was able only by way of motion to put recommendations to the provincial congresses. However, he did not expect any dramatic changes to be made to the document.

Dr. van der Merwe said the reaction of the ANC [African National Congress] and other black organizations to the proposals, details of which had been leaked earlier, was

encouraging insofar as these organizations had not rejected the proposals out of hand, but left room for discussion.

He said the proposals signalled an important shift in the country's politics away from talks about talks towards real negotiations.

Armcor No Comment on Arms Sales to Yugoslavia

MB0109052891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 0500 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Excerpts] The Yugoslav news agency, TANJUG, reports that fighter aircraft of the Yugoslavian Air Force have forced a Ugandan Boeing 707 suspected of smuggling arms received in South Africa to land at the Zagreb airport. TANJUG quoted a Yugoslav Defense Ministry statement as saying that the 19 tonnes of weapons, including rifles, mines, and ammunition, had been destined for the Republic of Slovenia. [passage omitted]

A spokesman for Armcor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] said on inquiry that it was the corporation's policy not to comment on arms sales to foreign countries.

Denies Sale of Arms

MB0109193891 Johannesburg South African Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1845 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] Armcor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] has reacted to reports that a consignment of arms and ammunition of South African origin has been seized in Croatia. The spokesman told our Johannesburg news staff that Armcor had no contact with Yugoslavia and that no products had been sent to any party in Yugoslavia. This follows the interception yesterday of the Ugandan Airliner carrying 10 tonnes of arms and ammunition. According to a TANJUG news agency the weapons were of South African origin.

The Yugoslavian Army which intercepted the plane says the arms and ammunition were destined for Croatian forces which have been fighting the Federal Army since Croatia declared independence in June. The plane is still on the ground, and the airport is surrounded by Croatian forces.

Bophuthatswana Denies Reports

MB0209124391 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1219 GMT 2 Sep 91

[Text] Pretoria Sept 2 SAPA—No cargo airliners had left Mmabatho airport in the past two weeks for an East European destination, a senior Bophuthatswana government official told representatives of Dixon Soule Associates, the homeland's public relations company. A statement to SAPA from Dixon Soule said that as Monday was a public holiday in Bophuthatswana, comment was

difficult to obtain about whether a Uganda air airliner loaded with 19 tons of arms for Yugoslavian rebels took off from the homeland to Zagreb where the plane was stopped leading to a fight between members of the Yugoslavian army and rebels.

The Bophuthatswan government official was quoted as saying cargo airlines made use of Mmabatho airport "on a regular basis. Certainly none have left Mmabatho airport during the past two weeks for any destination in Eastern Europe" he said.

ANC Opposes Arms Shipments

*MB0209191291 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1856 GMT 2 Sep 91*

[Text] Johannesburg Sept 2 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] has appealed to "all South Africans to refrain from shipping arms to Yugoslavia", following reports that weapons from South Africa had been seized in the Eastern European country. In a statement issued on Monday [2 September] the ANC said reports were cause for concern. "Shipments of arms to Yugoslavia at this time, from any quarter to any faction, will not serve the interests of peace in that country." The ANC said the South African Government should support diplomatic efforts aimed at ending the civil war in Yugoslavia.

Government Comments on Arms Sales

*MB0409090791 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
0500 GMT 4 Sep 91*

[Text] The government has entered the dispute surrounding the Ugandan Aircraft with alleged South African arms on board that was seized by the Yugoslav Army in Zagreb at the weekend. The minister of foreign affairs, Mr. Pik Botha, said the government had not authorized the sale nor the delivery of any arms to Yugoslavia. He said the South African Government fully subscribed to the view that arms should not be delivered to any of the conflicting parties in Yugoslavia.

The government was against violence to resolve political differences and supplying arms would encourage the use of violence rather than settling disputes in a peaceful manner. Earlier Armscor [Armaments Corporation of South Africa] denied having supplied weapons to groups in Yugoslavia.

Defense Minister Bans Nuclear Weapons Production

*MB3008162491 Johannesburg South African
Broadcasting Corporation Network in English
1545 GMT 30 Aug 91*

[Text] The manufacture of nuclear weapons has been banned by the outgoing minister of defense, General Magnus Malan. In a notice published in the latest Government Gazette, General Malan says the ban applies to the development, manufacture, marketing, import and export of nuclear weapons or explosives as set out in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty. According to the notice any attempt to manufacture these products will be illegal.

Botswana**President Returns From Harare Visit 31 Aug**

MB3108141691 Gaborone Radio Botswana Network in English 1125 GMT 31 Aug 91

[Text] The president, Dr. Quett Masire, arrived back home this morning from Zimbabwe where he officially opened the Harare Agricultural Show yesterday. He was accompanied by the first lady, Mrs. Gladys Masire, the assistant minister of agriculture, Mr. Geophrey Oteng, and senior government officials. The president was met at the Sir Seretse Khama Airport by the vice president, Mr. Peter Mmusi, cabinet ministers, and members of parliament.

According to the BOPA reporter in Harare, the presidential party was given a rousing farewell at the Harare International Airport by the Zimbabwean President, Mr. Robert Mugabe, his first lady Mrs. Sally Mugabe, government officials, and members of the diplomatic corps, among them the Botswana high commissioner to Zimbabwe, Mr. Pheneas Makepe.

Prior to the official opening of the show, President Masire and his entourage toured several stalls and other exhibits. The organizers of the show, the Zimbabwe Agricultural Society, presented Dr. Masire with a gift.

Last night President Mugabe held a state banquet in honor of President Masire at the Sheraton Hotel in Harare. During the occasion both leaders said they fully support the newly created African Economic Community, and said southern African countries should gear themselves for economic cooperation with a democratic South Africa.

Madagascar**'Shadow Cabinet' Named; 'Tension' Continues**

AB3108101591

[Editorial Report] Antananarivo Radio Madagascar Network in Malagasy at 1600 GMT on 29 August in its regularly scheduled newscast reports on the continuing crisis in that nation: "There is increasing tension between the government led by Mr. Guy Razanamasy and there are demonstrations led by the active forces in favor of the transitional government led by Professor Albert Zafy." Radio Madagascar then supplies a partial shadow cabinet list:

Secretary of State in the Ministry of Planning: Mr. Roger Ralison;
Secretary of State in the Ministry of Energy and Mines: Mr. (Ratafika Andriamampita);
Secretary of State in the Ministry of Industry and Craftsmanship: Mr. Honore;
Secretary of State in the Ministry of Youth, Sports, and Leisure: Mr. Charles Ranavela;

Secretary of State in the Ministry of Tourism: Mr. Latimer Rangers;
Secretary of State in the Ministry of Economy: Mr. Henri Rasamoelina;
Minister of Justice: Mr. (Paul Antilahy);
Minister of Environment and the Protection of Nature: Attorney Alfred Ramangasoavina.

"Successive speeches made by members of the political department of the active forces reaffirm that in connection with the threat issued by Prime Minister Guy Razanamasy [that civil servants should resume work by 4 September or face dismissal], civil servants should not be frightened but rather should strengthen the 13 May Square demonstrations," the report continues. The dismissal ultimatum is said to be due to "pressure on the Guy Razanamasy government by the World Bank against which he can do nothing." The prime minister "will not dare to sack employees as his ministers are not elected by the people, and also he does not have the power to do so." A call for the resignation of President Ratsiraka is again made by the opposition forces. On 4 September it is reported that "the pro-opposition platform of active forces and their government will escort their ministers to their respective ministries."

A report on a 29 August meeting in Antananarivo of "civil servants from various ministries" notes that it was decided there that strikes will continue despite "whatever means are utilized by the Razanamasy government." The cast carries an announcer-read segment on the views of the Movement for Proletarian Power, MFM. The MFM believes that "the lives of the 12 million Malagasy people and their future are being destroyed by the present events in the country and it is President Ratsiraka's dismissal which the Active Forces seek as a solution. The national entities must all cooperate to rehabilitate the country in a very timely manner."

The MFM urges an end to "the power struggle between the demonstrators and Razanamasy's government ministers" to prevent "violence." The Razanamasy government was termed "a fresh one and as such it can still be renewed and those who are not accepted by the people's struggle removed." A call is made for the shadow prime minister, Albert Zafy, and Guy Razanamasy to "approach each other with the view to forming a new government and thus remove puppets who represent nobody but themselves."

Civil Servants Continue Strike

AB0309170591 Paris AFP in English 1637 GMT 3 Sep 91

[Excerpts] Antananarivo, Sept 3 (AFP)—Some 100,000 anti-government protestors poured into the streets of the Malagasy capital again Tuesday [3 September] despite signs that opposition leaders wanted to pursue negotiations one day before a government ultimatum expired. Striking civil servants repeated their refusal to return to work in the face of a warning from Prime

Minister Guy Razanamasy that all will be fired unless they go back to their jobs by Wednesday. The prime minister issued the ultimatum in late August after nearly three months of huge daily protests and strikes in a bid to force the resignation of President Didier Ratsiraka, who has ruled Madagascar for 16 years. [passage omitted]

"We shall see if Prime Minister Razanamasy can get the administration going again tomorrow," said a committee spokesman, Pastor Richard Andriamanjato, to protestors in the central May 13 Square. There are some 50,000 people employed by the administration in Antananarivo. "Only the Lifeblood Committee can decide whether work will resume," Andriamanjato told the cheering crowd.

If the prime minister failed, "international opinion will know where to find the real power in Madagascar, on May 13 Square," he said, as plans were made to organize a new demonstration on Wednesday.

There were signs, however, that the Lifeblood Committee leadership wanted to pursue negotiations with the government, which broke down last week. A source close to the committee said plans by the opposition's "shadow government," led by coalition leader Albert Zafy as would-be prime minister, to occupy a ministry building on Wednesday had been called off "to avoid further provocations."

Extra security forces had been posted outside ministry building Tuesday amid fears of new clashes between demonstrators and security troops. The negotiations have been held under the sponsorship of local church leaders, the National Election Observation Committee, and French diplomats.

The source said the Lifeblood Committee was to meet again Tuesday with church leaders, who hold broad influence in the country, and should some sort of agreement be reached, it would be up to the church leaders to urge demonstrators to end the conflict. [passage omitted]

Mozambique

Frelimo Chief Announces Secretariat Assignments

MB0109112891 Maputo Radio Maputo in English
1100 GMT 1 Sep 91

[Text] The general secretary of Mozambique's ruling Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] Party, Feliciano Gundana, has announced the jobs which will be done by the members of the party Secretariat elected in Maputo last month.

The key job of secretary for party organization for the first time goes to a woman, Rosaria Lumbela. She will be the first Frelimo leader to have the job of organizing the party in the run-up to general elections in which Frelimo will be competing for power with other political parties. The elections are scheduled to take place next year.

There are a number of parties who have said they expect to mount a strong challenge to Frelimo.

The man appointed to run Frelimo's mobilization and propaganda campaign is Manuel Tome, whose present job is director general of Radio Mozambique. The post of foreign relations secretary goes to Alberto Sithole, who has been in Frelimo's Foreign Relations Department since he left government service as ambassador to Ethiopia some years ago.

The training of Frelimo cadres will be in the hands of Gideon Dobe, a veteran of Frelimo's independence war and another Frelimo veteran, Eduardo Arao, becomes secretary for administration and finance.

* Prospects for Postwar Economic Reconstruction

* Priorities Outlined

91AF1322A Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Jun/Jul 91 pp 5-8

[Text] For more than two decades Mozambique has not known peace. But prospects on that score have lately begun to look distinctly brighter. With a partial ceasefire already in operation in the Beira and Limpopo transport corridors, optimists at the time of writing were saying that a general ceasefire could become a reality as early as June.

That of course would be wonderful news, not just for the people of Mozambique but for other countries in the region whose economies have suffered badly from the knock-on effects—transport disruption, refugees, additional defence costs—of the crippling civil war. But it is well to realise that peace, if it really breaks out, will throw up a host of difficulties. The war created problems that were insoluble so long as it lasted. In theory the problems of peace can be solved. The trouble is that although the government has been talking about peace for many years, it has not put much work into serious planning.

Early this year, an inter-ministerial commission under the ministry of cooperation was set up to plan and coordinate a national reconstruction programme. So far it has met just once. Mr. Oldomiro Baloi, the youthful deputy minister of cooperation, says its first job will be to collate all the studies on postwar reconstruction carried out so far. The truth seems to be that while several sectoral studies have indeed been carried out, they have been pretty haphazard and uncoordinated—so much so that some ministries on whose behalf they are supposed to have been undertaken don't even know they exist.

The commission will also talk to donors to find out what assistance they are prepared to give towards reconstruction. But donors will want to know what they are being asked to support—and some are getting exasperated by the slow pace of government planning. "Donors feel

uneasy about the lack of coordination by the government," says Mrs. Eva Belfrage at the Swedish development aid office in Maputo. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) are saying much the same (see separate article), and have called on the government to draw up a master plan. Instead, he says, the government will draw up general guidelines on priorities.

Since last year the approach has been along rather different lines, with districts, rather than sectors or activities, being given priority. Under what it calls a Priority District Programme, the government has chosen 40 districts (out of the 120 in the country) where it hopes to speed up development. The chosen few were selected at the height of the war, for a variety of reasons which included their relative security and their agricultural potential. With its severely limited resources the government thought it would do better to concentrate on a small number of the most promising areas rather than spread its efforts very thinly across the whole country. As Mr. Baloi explains it: "In all areas where we are settling people we are giving them land and the tools and we expect them to be self-sufficient within 18 months."

Whatever the official priorities, there can't be any doubt that the truly urgent task after the war will be to repatriate the one million or more refugees now outside the country and resettle the further three million that have been internally displaced. The government agrees. It says everything it does after the war must be geared to create the conditions for resettling refugees and displaced people and help them to produce so that they can be self-sufficient.

"Easier said than done" would be an understatement. Mr. Emmanuel Owusu, who heads the UN High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] in Mozambique, says the magnitude of the exercise that will be required is unheard of anywhere. Resettling the refugees will be difficult logistically, but planning that operation will be much easier than dealing with the displaced. At least, by simply adding up the numbers of refugees in neighbouring countries the government and the UNHCR will have a rough idea of what they have to do. But not so for the displaced. Nobody, for example, has the faintest clue how many people are now living in Maputo because the war forced them to flee the countryside. The same goes for other provincial centres.

Another big unknown is how many will be willing to go back. Some argue that the displaced people in the towns have not been there long enough to become urbanised and will take the first opportunity to return to the land. Others say that the infrastructure in the rural areas has been so totally smashed that few will be prepared to face it, at least in the early stages.

One point in favour of that pessimistic argument is that in pre-war Mozambique most peasants were both pastoralists and crop farmers. Now that almost all of those displaced have lost their cattle they would have to depend entirely on crops for a living, which would not be

enough. Without cattle and their draught power, the best they could hope for would be to produce for subsistence.

But if the displaced choose to stay in town, can the towns cope? The answer is no. As things are now, large areas of Maputo do not have even the basic amenities: running water, sewerage, roads, clinics or schools. According to the Anglican bishop of Maputo, Bishop Dinis Singulane, about 20,000 children in Maputo alone will not be able to start school next year because there are no places. The Anglican church has started an alternative school programme under which volunteers give lessons to some of these children until they can be absorbed into the formal system, if that day ever arrives. It seems unlikely that such efforts can reach more than a few.

The number of street children, most of them orphans, is very high. The government is trying to find homes for them. "We are tracing the families of traumatised children and looking for foster parents for the orphans in their home area, says Mr. Leonardo Simao, the health minister. Both the churches and the government run vocational training programmes for street children. But so far, judging from the numbers to be seen on the streets, they are barely scratching the surface of the problem.

Because of the security situation, the government can only turn a blind eye to the squalid slums mushrooming in and around the cities. At the same time, it is excluding the urban poor, the displaced and the unemployed from its emergency relief programme so as not to attract people to the cities. To the official eye they are effectively invisible. If they stay where they are their lot can only get worse. The government says that after the war is over, most of the support now being channelled to the cities will go to the rural areas.

This assumes that the people concerned will be prepared to move, says Mr. Casimiro Nhamutanbo, a founder member of the Mozambique Liberal Democratic Party (PALMO), one of the opposition parties that are thriving in the new democratic dispensation. "The government will need more than goodwill to get people back to the land," he argues. "Practically everything has been destroyed by the war."

All this means that rebuilding infrastructure in the rural areas will have to be a major priority if people are to be enticed back to them—which they must be if they are to have any hope of looking after themselves and not remain in perpetual dependence on welfare and charity, for which there are completely inadequate resources. We need to open up the areas by making them accessible even before reconstruction starts," says Mr. Mark Latham, the director of the World Food Programme (WFP) in Mozambique.

The WFP has started a food-for-work programme building feeder roads in Gaza and Inhambane provinces. The project has technical assistance from the International Labour Organisation and is funded by Sweden which has put up about US\$2 million. It is completely

labour-intensive, using little or no machinery. So far five 200-strong brigades are at work.

The question of incentives for farmers is also crucial. Mr. Latham, rightly says that there must be money to pay farmers for their crops, together with goods they can buy in the local shops. At present, WFP calculates that an astonishing 85 percent of all the food in the country is food aid, with only 15 percent being commercially marketed. Food aid on this scale is an obvious threat to local production—and is already competing with it.

The only answer is to develop the local market. Last season, for example, parts of Tete province achieved a maize surplus of 20,000 tonnes. But because of logistical problems most of it ended up in Malawi where the peasants bartered it for other goods. Meanwhile, bizarrely, the town of Tete was going through a desperate food crisis following the closure of Tete corridor.

Food marketing and the distribution of agricultural inputs is handled by the parastatal AGRICOM [Agricultural Products Marketing Company]. "We are hoping that normal private sector marketing can take place," says Mr. Latham. But the prospects don't look all that bright. Between 1982 and 1988 the number of private shops declined by 40 percent, while AGRICOMs fixed buying points dwindled by an even more staggering 75 percent.

Yet another problem, which many blame on colonial neglect (not that that helps), is an acute shortage of agricultural extension workers. The country's first training college opened its doors only four years ago, since then the government has established an agricultural college of sorts in each province. But the colleges are poorly staffed and equipped. Only two out of ten have professionally trained heads.

Those are some of the main problems that will have to be tackled. Of course, nothing at all can be done without security, and this may not be easy to achieve even after a formal ceasefire has been signed. There are simply too many people roaming the countryside with guns. In April, Frelimo [Mozambique Liberation Front] soldiers ambushed a train in Nampula and stole maize—no doubt a straightforward matter of hunger and desperation, but clearly one that could recur even after an official outbreak of peace.

There has been a suggestion, and the government appears to be taking it seriously, that some of the aid money that should flow in after the war might be used to buy up the guns from those that have them. The seller would then have some capital to set himself up in a peaceful way of life. The figure of US\$1,000 has been mentioned as a reasonable amount to pay for an AK rifle. It is actually being tried out in South Africa, where the government is offering up to 1,500 rands (about US\$500) for every AK-47 rifle handed in.

Mozambique might have been in a stronger position to tackle reconstruction if peace had come earlier. The end

of the cold war has taken away the country's strategic importance in terms of east-west conflict and with it any political reason for the superpowers or their allies to stump up aid. A South Africa under majority rule seems likely to lap up any foreign investment that might otherwise go to a post-war Mozambique. The end of apartheid would also remove its strategic importance as a gateway for SADCC [Southern African Development Coordination Conference] to the sea that avoids South Africa.

Against that is the fact that the Mozambican routes are shorter, and could be competitive—provided the railways and ports are managed efficiently once the present rehabilitation is completed. It can also be expected that there would be some in a post-apartheid South Africa who would be interested in investing in Mozambique.

Reconstruction will certainly not be easy. For years to come the country will need massive external assistance. But ultimately success will depend on how well and efficiently that assistance is used. Recent political developments give at least some grounds for hope. If the advent of multi-party democracy means that government becomes more accountable to the people, this is likely to mean better government and therefore more development. At a minimum it will be better than the tried and failed method of authoritarian rule under a supposedly all-wise party.

Socially, too, there will be a need to adjust if reconstruction is to succeed, particularly in the countryside. Mozambican peasants have never had things their way. First they were under the Portuguese who used forced labour to make them produce cash crops. Then, after independence and before the civil war, the Frelimo government introduced villagisation and collective agriculture, which turned out to be quite disastrous. During the war, Frelimo troops have been driving the peasants into large settlements for their own protection, while Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] has force-marched them into the bush.

After the war the government will have to decentralise its authority and allow people more say in running their lives. If it won't, the peasants may just do it for themselves—as indeed they have already started to do. Large areas of Zambezia, including Pebane and Gile districts, were "liberated" from Renamo late last year by a spirit medium known as Manuel Antonio. Close to 200,000 people simply abandoned the camps set up for internally displaced people and went back home. They left in the middle of the rainy season, so it was too late to plant crops. They no longer have the food handouts they lived on in the camps. But somehow they seem to be managing on their own with no help from anybody. We don't claim to know just how this is being achieved—but it ought to make any government quite uneasy, particularly one with bossy or paternalistic tendencies.

The people in these "liberated" areas have gone back to a pre-colonial way of life, replete with ancient institutions including chiefs, spirit mediums and open witchcraft. It is interesting that even where they had to fight to regain their territory from Renamo, they put their trust not in the AK rifle but in the spear and the knobkerry.

Bishop Singulane somberly admits that the way the people have completely turned their backs on religious and governmental structures is an indictment of those systems and how they have functioned. "There is a challenge here for us to change," he says. "Where have we failed in the way we relate to the people?"

Where indeed? That perhaps is the real question that the government and all who profess themselves concerned with healing the wounds of a savagely divisive war should be asking themselves. We doubt if the answer lies in witchcraft and knobkerries. Nevertheless, a certain humility seems in order. If the wielders of power can acknowledge that something serious did indeed go wrong, and that while much of this was the fault of outsiders a good deal of it was not, if they can accept the need to listen and to trust the people rather than being sure that they know all the answers, then Mozambique might even gain from its years of misery. If it can do that then surely it would have much to teach its neighbours.

* Figures Record Decline

91AF1322B Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Jun/Jul 91 pp 8-9

[Article: "Hard Road Ahead"—first paragraph is SOUTHERN AFRICAN ECONOMIST introduction]

[Text] Rebuilding Mozambique will not be easy. At its peak in 1980, Mozambique's real per capita Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was estimated at US\$180, but by 1989 that had declined to US\$100. Although the real GDP growth rate is now averaging 4 percent per annum, given the country's population growth rate of 2.7 percent, it will take another 25 years to recover to the 1980 level.

According to a recent World Bank study, an estimated 60 percent of the country's population live in "absolute poverty"—which is defined as those with an inadequate nutritional standard even when they spend more than 60 percent of their total income on food. In 1989 gross production was only about 75 percent of peak production in 1981.

Agriculture is the economy's mainstay and the country's recovery will hinge on its performance there. But in 1989, production of cashew, cotton, copra, citrus and rice were only 50 percent of what it was in the early 1980s while tea, sugar and sisal were down to between 5 and 15 percent.

In the early 1970s for instance, marketed production of maize and rice ranged between 150,000 and 230,000 tonnes a year. But over the 1985-88 period, this dropped

to between 40,000 and 70,000 tonnes. Between 1980-86, per capita production of cassava, maize, rice and sorghum—the principal food crops in the country—in the family sector fell by 25, 45, 25 and 40 percent respectively. Aid-financed grain imports accounted for between 85 and 90 percent of the marketed grain supply.

On the broad economic front, Mozambique is not saving up for investment and growth, but is eating up its capital. In 1989 the national disaving [as received] rate was about 25 percent of GDP. The value of imports was seven times more than that of exports and imports accounted for around 60 percent of GDP. External aid accounted for more than 80 percent of foreign exchange inflows.

In 1988 Mozambique's debt to GDP ratio was 358.3 percent and its debt to exports ratio a staggering 4,530 percent. In 1989 the debt service ratio, before debt relief, was almost 175 percent. Mozambique's debt service ratio is about seven times as high as that of the other low-income sub-Saharan African countries and 13 times as that of the low-income Asian countries.

Education, which is another key factor for the country's early recovery, has been severely hit by the war. The World Bank says the general education of the population of Mozambique is one of the lowest in the world. By 1989, it says, 50 percent of the country's primary schools—over 3,200—had been destroyed while 15 percent of the secondary schools had been closed. Consequently between 1981 and 1988 the number of pupils decreased from 1.38 million to 1.2 million. Urban schools are overcrowded and most teach in three shifts a day. Only 45 percent of the schools offered a complete five-grade primary school course. Spending on education has also fallen from 4.5 percent of GDP in 1983 to 2.3 percent in 1987—one of the lowest in Africa.

Healthwise, the people of Mozambique fare no better. For although the number of primary health care points rose dramatically from 326 in 1975 to 1,919 in 1985 and health centres from 120 to 251, by 1989 274 health units had been destroyed and an additional 550 forced to close.

Road transport, which was always a poorly developed sector, deteriorated even further during the war. Less than half of the paved road network is in good condition and all the gravel roads are in bad shape while a mere 15 percent of the earth roads are in a good condition. The average age of the country's vehicle fleet is around 20 years—way beyond its economic life.

Mozambique's railway system is now only a pale shadow of what it was in the past. In 1973, the railways and ports handled 20 million tonnes of cargo but only 2.7 million tonnes in 1987. Over the past decade, earnings from rail transport have fallen to 25 percent of their 1980 level.

But the most urgent problem for the Mozambican government will be resettling refugees and the displaced. Out of the country's population of 15.2 million people about 1 million are refugees in neighbouring countries; 1.7 million are displaced internally and a further 2.9 million are seriously affected by the war. In all, between 35 and 40 percent of the population are affected or displaced by the war. In 1980 only 13.2 percent of the population lived in the urban areas but because the countryside has been rendered unsafe, 30 percent of the population now live in the cities.

* Aid Controversy

91AF1322C Harare SOUTHERN AFRICAN
ECONOMIST in English Jun/Jul 91 pp 10-11

[Text] These days hardly anybody in Maputo lives in what used to be the plum residential districts of Polana or Sommerchild. Most of the houses in this large area have been turned into offices for United Nations agencies or non-governmental organisations (NGOs). This trend is heavily symbolic of the major role that the NGOs have come to play in Mozambique—a role that has already caused some heart-burning and may cause more.

There is no question that NGOs will be key players in the reconstruction of post war Mozambique. Just as surely, their effectiveness will depend on how they relate to the government as well as the people they work with. There have been some signs of strain. In Mozambique, as in any country severely hit by war, there are areas where the civil authorities exist in name only. The NGOs—there are now about 128 of them—are being accused of taking advantage of this chaos to establish their own little kingdoms where they do their own thing.

A major criticism is that they are creating structures parallel to those of the government. The critics point out that this will create problems after the war when the government will be aiming to reestablish its authority and set up normal development structures. The NGOs deny the charge. But at a March meeting in Maputo which brought most of them together, they conceded with some reluctance that they were sometimes obliged to set up parallel structures "because the structures within the government with which we can coordinate sometimes just don't exist."

For their part, the NGOs charge that the government often uses them subtly for its own political ends. For instance, it will ask an NGO to rebuild structures destroyed by Renamo [Mozambique National Resistance] in a particular place, such as a school and a clinic, often at great cost because of the difficulty of getting materials in. But its main concern may not be whether that is the best way of using the money or whether it is the most pressing need in the community. Rather, it may want the school or clinic rebuilt as a symbol of its authority, which must be seen by the people so that they can feel its presence.

Relations between the government and the NGOs in Mozambique have always been somewhat uneasy. Only a few years ago the activities of the latter were very tightly regulated and controlled by the government, which was anxious not to have its power and influence in the countryside usurped by foreign bodies or to see its own programmes "derailed" by the many NGOs with their myriad ideologies and objectives.

But two years ago the NGOs complained that corruption among government officials was making their work difficult; they said most of the aid they gave was ending up in the hands of individuals. At a donor's conference in Paris, the government came under pressure to allow them a freer hand. Desperate as it was for help from any quarter, the government not only let go but went to the other extreme, leaving the NGOs to operate almost on their own.

This emerged clearly at the Maputo meeting, where the government said it had no idea of what the NGOs were doing while they accused the government of not letting them in on its development plans. Not only do they say that they don't know what the government's plans are; they even admit that they are in the dark about the activities of their fellow NGOs. This already seems to be creating some problems in terms of duplication of effort, but could evidently become much worse after the war, when in physical terms the NGOs will be free to move throughout the whole country.

The war has meant that large parts of Mozambique are inaccessible except by air, so that few NGOs (leaving aside the UN agencies) are in a position to mount nationwide programmes. The tendency is for each to concentrate on a particular province or district. This can lead to a certain shortsightedness. The deputy minister of cooperation, Mr. Oldomiro Baloi, says some of them want the government to give their projects priority without taking into account its obligations elsewhere. "They see their plots as the whole of Mozambique," he complains.

The extremely difficult security situation in much of the countryside also means that most NGOs direct their operations from the relative safety of Maputo, only paying lightning visits to the projects they are backing. It is alleged that this further isolates them from reality on the ground. Mr. Baloi insists that Maputo gives a wrong impression of Mozambique and that only those in the provinces can appreciate the difficult reconstruction work ahead.

That may well be true. But the trouble with it as an argument is that if the NGOs are out of touch with what is happening on the ground, the government is probably even more so. Many district administrators have no transport or money to move around and visit projects. They have to rely on NGOs who have vehicles or can charter planes. Some district administrators don't even have offices.

A problem peculiar to Mozambique which could make the position of NGOs more difficult after the war is that—unlike Zambia or Zimbabwe for example—it does not have a history of local NGOs with which the foreign ones can work. This means that foreign NGOs have two alternatives: to work with existing government structures, which in this case are mostly very weak and poorly equipped; or to work on their own and deal directly with the people. The second alternative contains the danger of creating a top-down hierarchy and entrenching dependence among people who feel that they are not taking an active part in the programmes. But in the short term it may seem the only practicable thing to do. The dilemma is likely to become more acute when the war is finally over.

An issue that is now being raised and will surely become more prominent is what sort of assistance the NGOs should be providing. So far most of their work has been confined to keeping people alive by giving them food and other bare necessities. When it comes to post-war reconstruction the requirements will be different.

"What the people need are basic agricultural tools and the infrastructure to market their produce," says a Mozambican journalist. He argues that even now with the war still raging in much of the country, the people could do a lot more for themselves if they were given the chance instead of having to live in protected settlements

where they cannot fend for themselves. Both the NGOs and the government may need to adapt their thinking.

Zimbabwe

Cuban Foreign Minister Urges 'Good Relations'

MB2908134691 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1106 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] Harare Aug 29 SAPA—Visiting Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca and his deputy, Giraldo Mazola, met Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira in Harare on Thursday for talks aimed at strengthening relations between Cuba and Zimbabwe, the ZIANA news agency reports. Mr Shamuyarira said the visit would also offer an opportunity to exchange views and ideas on the current global political situation especially on issues involving the Non-Aligned Movement [NAM]. "We are very pleased that you have visited us, and I hope our discussions would be very fruitful," Mr Shamuyarira.

Malmierca said Cuba has enjoyed good relations with Zimbabwe and urged Zimbabweans to continue working together with the Cuban people. "We should work together and improve coordination of our actions in the international political arena," he said. The Cuban delegation is to leave Harare at the weekend together with Mr Shamuyarira for the NAM ministerial meeting to be held in Accra next week.

Burkina Faso

President Compaore Returns From Libyan Visit

AB3108165991 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 1900 GMT 30 Aug 91

[Excerpt] Head of State Captain Blaise Compaore returned to Ouagadougou this afternoon following a three-day visit to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyyah where he attended the activities marking the 22d anniversary of the Libyan revolution. On 28 August 1991, President Compaore attended the inauguration of an artificial river in Benghazi, the country's second largest town. [passage omitted]

Liberia

NPFL Executions After Alleged Coup Attempt

AB0309161591 London BBC World Service in English 1515 GMT 3 Sep 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Hard on the heels of the execution by the Liberian rebel leader Prince Johnson of some of his commandos for fraternizing with ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] come reports from Gbarnga, the capital of territory controlled by rebels of Charles Taylor's National Patriotic Front of Liberia, NPFL. There too, there have apparently been executions, although the reasons are not entirely clear. From Monrovia, Claud Hene telexed this report:

[Begin studio announcer recording] According to today's edition of THE ENQUIRER newspaper, the artillery commander of the NPFL, Sam Towe, and an unspecified number of junior commandos have been executed by the Front for allegedly plotting to assassinate Charles Taylor on 30 August in Gbarnga, Bong County. Several other commandos are said to be on the run. The paper said that a dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed in Gbarnga, as searches continue for commandos implicated in the rebellion.

However, according to the NPFL-controlled radio quoting Mr. Taylor, the situation was not an attempted coup. Rather, Mr. Towe was court-martialed for allegedly killing five other commandos. Taylor told journalists in his territory that the execution of Mr. Towe was in accordance with the uniform code of military justice. He did not say when Towe was executed.

Nevertheless, independent reports say that there has, indeed, been a coup attempt. Latest reports reaching Monrovia say that tension is mounting in Gbarnga and Kakata as loyal commandos go from village to village in search of the plotters that are on the run. Several citizens are fleeing the area on foot to Monrovia, but Taylor has called on them not to panic as, he said, all the accused will be arrested and brought to justice.

The fleeing citizens said normal life in Gbarnga and Kakata and the surrounding areas is paralyzed. The movement of people is being restricted and there is massive searching of homes. [end recording]

Taylor Confirms Execution

AB0309193591 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 3 Sep 91

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] When we heard that report in an earlier edition of Focus, Charles Taylor contacted us from Liberia. He confirmed that Sam Towe had, indeed, been executed for executing others. But he also said that an invasion of his territory was being planned from Sierra Leone. Robin White first asked Mr. Taylor about the coup plot against him.

[Begin recording] [Taylor] Absolutely none. And this story that Gbarnga is paralyzed and Kakata is paralyzed is all a bunch of lies. I mean the only movement of people up and down this country right now are soldiers that we have recalled from the towns and villages that have been making the farms [as received] after returning to their various battalions to defend this country.

[White] So the impression being given that your time may be up, that is not true?

[Taylor] Oh definitely not Robin. I would not hide it for a minute; I have complete confidence in the soldiers of this country. These people are working day and night, these young men and women, and believe me, there has been no, absolutely no coup attempt in this country, whatsoever. And you can come into this territory and investigate this with anybody. He can come here to go any place to investigate. It was the case of one soldier acting on his own that took the lives of five other soldiers, and we cannot permit that while we are returning to normal (?life) in this country, where individuals can take the law into their own hands; and we reported this.

[White] Was this man given a proper trial?

[Taylor] Oh definitely, definitely. We had this man court-martialed by his peers and he was investigated. He admitted to the killing and now we had to execute him under the Uniform Code of Military Justice.

[White] There is still a dusk to dawn curfew in Gbarnga?

[Taylor] So help me God! There has never been a dusk to dawn curfew any place in this country. Never, ever!

[White] Now this claim by yours that you are about to be invaded out of Sierra Leone, now what is your evidence for that and how many soldiers do you claim are about to invade you?

[Taylor] Well you can ask the United States Pentagon. They confirmed it, too. We predict that there are between 3 to 5,000 men. The Pentagon has confirmed

this. They even predict that within six weeks they could be in this country. That is not what I am just saying. It is not just Charles Taylor alone saying it; the United States Government is saying it, and they are training Sierra Leonean armed forces. They are supplying arms and ammunition to the Government of Sierra Leone that is being given to elements that we have defeated in this country to come in and kill more Liberians.

[White] But I have not seen the Pentagon issuing a statement saying this?

[Taylor] Oh yes, you call them right now and verify it. I have my minister of defense in America still. He was sent there, he met with the Pentagon, and he confirmed that these forces exist. In fact, you have heard of the United Democratic Front in Sierra Leone; they have not hidden their ambitions whatsoever. There is another group called Frelimo [as heard]; all of these people are there. This is not news, Robin; it is old. Even BBC has reported the existence of Liberians in Sierra Leone. The only difference now is that they are armed and they are within 15 miles of the borders, and we are not going to permit it. If we have to go to war, we will do it.

[White] And you have sent men to the border to repel them?

[Taylor] I have sent several battalions to the border to make absolutely sure that no other Liberian has to die because of Doe's men, or Amos Sawyer's men, or Boimah Fanbulleh's men, or any other outside group entering this country to kill more Liberians. [end recording]

Nigeria

DAILY TIMES Accuses Libya of Destabilization

AB0209080091 Paris AFP in English 0658 GMT
2 Sep 91

[Text] Lagos, Sept 2 (AFP)—The official Nigerian DAILY TIMES has accused Libya of conspiring to destabilize Nigeria by training expatriate Nigerians and sending them back home to carry out subversive activities.

THE DAILY TIMES said the Libyan-trained Nigerians were to have been included among a group of illegal Nigerian immigrants expelled to their homeland.

Nigerian officials have not commented on the charge, but sources close to the government said the leadership did not rule out such a conspiracy. The sources said no Libyan-trained Nigerians had yet infiltrated the country. Libyan Embassy officials were unavailable for comment.

Analysts here said that if the report was confirmed, the action could be retaliation against Nigeria for having assisted the evacuation by U.S. military planes from

Chad last December of Libyan prisoners of war who allegedly had been trained to subvert the regime of Libyan leader Colonel Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi.

Two hundred Libyans passed through Nigeria on their way to the United States after leaving Chad in the wake of the overthrow of the government by rebels led by current President Idriss Deby.

In June, Libyan Foreign Minister [title as received] Ibrahim al-Bichari walked out of the 27th summit of the Organization of African States [as received], held in the future Nigerian capital Abuja, to protest what he termed the "unfriendly" Nigerian attitude.

Elected Local Government Councils Dissolved

AB3008130091 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network
in English 1800 GMT 29 Aug 91

[Text] The Federal Government has dissolved all the elected local government councils from which 47 new local governments were recently created and approved the removal of the elected chairmen and vice chairmen of each of the affected local governments from office. Consequently, military governors and military administrators have been directed to swear in for each of the affected local government a sole administrator who shall be of the rank of deputy director and above not later than Monday, 2 September 1991.

Protests Over New State Continue; Two Killed

AB3108063891 Paris AFP in English 2042 GMT
30 Aug 91

[Text] Lagos, Aug 30 (AFP)—Two people were killed when residents of Gusau city, in the northern state of Sokoto, staged a violent demonstration over plans to carve a new state called Kebbi out of Sokoto, the independent CONCORD newspaper said here Friday. It was the first time deaths had been reported since demonstrations began in parts of the country following President Ibrahim Babangida's announcement Tuesday that nine new states were being formed. One of the victims was a university student, who died of gunshot wounds in a clash between police and demonstrators.

Before the police arrived, demonstrators had harassed passers-by and set fire to a courthouse, a bank and a guest house in the town, stronghold of Sultan Ibrahim Dasuki, spiritual leader of Nigeria's Muslims, the newspaper said. Protests have also been staged in other parts of Nigeria by people who complained the government ignored their calls for a state to be created for them, or who felt dissatisfied with the location of the state capital.

Five of the new states—Kogi, Jigawa, Taraba, Kebbi and Yobe—lie in the north, while the other four—Osun, Anambra, Delta and Abia—are in the south. The changes bring the total number of states in Nigeria to 30.

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